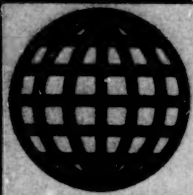


JPRS-EER-88-099
22 NOVEMBER 1988



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HUNGARY

Opinion Poll on Grosz Popularity, Government Performance Published

25000006a Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG
in Hungarian 17 Sep 88 p 51

[Unattributed article: "Here the People of Budapest Speak"]

[Text] At the request of HETI VILAGGAZDASAG on 6 and 7 September the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute surveyed 300 residents of Budapest by way of a questionnaire to find out their views concerning governmental activities during the past year. The group constitutes a representative sample of the city's population by age, sex, and educational level.

An overwhelming majority of those questioned (77 percent) envisions today's economic situation as worse than a year ago. This view is supported primarily by a deterioration in the standard of living. In contrast, more people recognize the political situation as better than it was a year ago (44 percent) while 35 percent find it worse.

Most people of Budapest (42 percent) find the term "crisis" as most appropriate to characterize the economic situation, 24 percent would use the term "fall back" while 16 percent would say "stop short." In this respect there were hardly any extreme views: the term "bankruptcy" on the one hand, or the "slowing down of development" was used only by a few. White collar workers were more critical of the economic situation than were blue collar workers. (At the beginning of the year a similar survey showed more favorable views: at that time only 29 percent of those questioned spoke of a crisis.)

The sample population blamed primarily the country's leadership, the party and the government for the economic situation. Economic leadership, enterprise managers and the political leadership of the past took second place in being blamed.

Far more people (81 percent) said that "during the past year things happened which made people dissatisfied" than those who expressed satisfaction concerning some action (58 percent). Most dissatisfaction was caused by the personal income tax system and by price increases. Facilitation of travel opportunities provided grounds for satisfaction. Factors contributing to satisfaction were the acceptance of Transylvanian refugees, increased family supplements and pensions, a greater information flow and a general atmosphere that is more free.

The fact that Karoly Grosz has been prime minister since last summer is kept in mind by 70 percent of those questioned. About the same number of people believe that the [Grosz] cabinet brought about changes in the nation's life. Two thirds of those asked hold clearly

favorable views about the changes, but one fifth of the sample thought that the changes were definitely unfavorable. (18 percent of those questioned felt that both positive and negative changes occurred.) The most significant change viewed as favorable pertains to the fact that the cabinet program is aiming for an economic upswing. Similarly, a more open, more democratic atmosphere was viewed as a positive development, and so was the increased freedom to express one's opinion and the belief that Hungary's standing in the eyes of the world has improved.

Favorable views regarding the prime minister himself do not necessarily represent complete satisfaction with the activities of the government. About half of the respondents said that they were satisfied with the government (4 percent was very satisfied, 49 percent was satisfied only somewhat). The other half of the respondents was dissatisfied in this respect (33 percent was somewhat dissatisfied while 14 percent was very satisfied). (Older people are far more satisfied than younger people.) The respondents' judgment reflects primarily their views on a the personal income tax system and on price increases.

"Through the personal income tax the state makes people pay for the consequences of wrong economic policies," according to 80 percent of the people. If the issue were placed on the ballot, a majority of (61 percent) of the people would reject the personal income tax system. (Men, people with higher education, and party members are more inclined to accept the personal income tax system.) At the same time, however, many (75 percent) believe that "after appropriate adjustments, the personal income tax system will be a far more just method of taxation."

An overwhelming majority (84 percent) of those questioned feels that this year the standard of living fell substantially below the targeted levels. They think that inflation was much higher than what the government promised. (In their view the plan called for a 16 percent inflation rate while they estimate that price increases represent a 22 percent inflation rate.)

There are contradictory views concerning the question of "whether the government has done all it could so that the country can extricate itself as soon as possible from the difficult economic situation." Half of the sample population responded in the affirmative, the other half in the negative. At the same time, however, two thirds of the questioned believe that the government will be able to guide the nation out of its present situation. The older a respondent, and the lower his educational level, the more satisfied he was with the government, and the more confidence he had in the future actions of the government.

Better or Worse?

In your judgment, did the situation improve or deteriorate as compared with the situation a year ago in the following areas? The following table shows the average values assigned to each of the categories by the 300 respondents. The range of possible responses was between + 1 and - 1.

The situation of the rich	+0.11
Entrepreneurial opportunities	0.00
Consumer goods supplies	-0.11
Productivity	-0.13
State enterprise competitiveness in world markets	-0.15
Subsidies for the disadvantaged	-0.18
The organized character of labor	-0.19
Work discipline	-0.21
Job opportunities	-0.32
The situation of the average person	-0.34
Existential security	-0.34
The economic situation of Hungary	-0.39
Earning opportunities	-0.39
The situation of the youth	-0.43
Hungary's financial situation	-0.46
The standard of living	-0.49
The situation of retired persons	-0.53
The situation of families with children	-0.55
The situation of the poor	-0.59
The value of money	-0.63
Opportunities to acquire an apartment	-0.65

Kristaly Case: Article Questions Legal Basis of Sentencing

25000026d Budapest OTLET in Hungarian
15 Sep 88 p 4

[Article: "Why Can't We Write on a Postcard?"]

[Text] The case of Gyula Kristaly, a disabled retiree, whom the Miskolc county court sentenced to a 1-and-1/2-year suspended term in prison, on the charge of subversiveness, have stirred emotions in the past weeks. It turned out that Gyula Kristaly mailed an open postcard addressed to the MSZMP, in which he harshly criticized domestic conditions and certain leaders, and for which the head of the Miskolc Post Office Administration reported him to the police. How did this lead to the elderly man's lawsuit and, after all, based on what right did the head of the Post Office Administration act? These were among the questions we asked Dr Gyorgy Szabo, the representative of the legal and administrative department of the Hungarian Post Office.

[Question] It is not quite clear for the public opinion why the Post Office withhold a postcard addressed to the MSZMP instead of forwarding it?

[Answer] Provision of law II of 1962 concerning the post office and telecommunications says that it is the obligation of the post office to ensure the privacy of correspondence. And the third paragraph of section four says that it is the post office's obligation to refuse forwarding if the content of the letter or other correspondence violates the law or is against the interest of the state or public morals. Of course, it doesn't mean that the employees of the post office examine all such mail. I believe that the address called the postal employee's attention to the postcard. Besides, the open postcard is a lower-rate letter form, so it has to be examined anyway to see if it meets the requirements of forwarding.

[Question] Is there any rule prescribing what a postal employee has to do if encountering an open postcard which—as in this case—conveys a critical opinion addressed to the party?

[Answer] Of course. According to the 1/1966 postal and transportation ministerial ordinance, the employee has to forward it internally to his superior. Thus, the employee does not act as authority but only follows the regulations of his job. This is very important because many believe that the postal employees simply report citizens. The head of the given post office forwards it to the head of the Post Office Administration; in our case, this was the Miskolc Post Office Administration. The reporting obligations of this organ are regulated by the ordinance of the General Manager of the Post Office. In case of a well-funded suspicion of criminal activity, the head of the Post Office Administration is required to report it as an organ of authority. In our case, the head of the Miskolc Post Office Administration suspected criminal activity, therefore he reported it to the police. However, the Post Office doesn't have the authority to decide whether it was really criminal activity or not.

[Question] What is categorized as criminal activity? If a citizen expresses a critical opinion about the activity of upper political organs on an open postcard?

[Answer] If the individual expresses a private opinion and doesn't try to call upon others to realize unrealistic goals (for example, the overthrowing of the system, etc.), then the opinion expressed on an open postcard cannot be categorized as a criminal act. The post office, however, is subject to the provisions of the law, according to which the piece of mail is not allowed to contain anything (either text or image) that hurts the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic. We frequently encounter cases when something has to be prevented from being forwarded (for example, pornographic mail) but there is no need of reporting. Withholding and reporting together is the severest form, which rarely occurs.

Seminarians Discuss Military Service; Policy on Alternative Military Service Modified

25000028 Budapest KEPES 7 in Hungarian
17 Sep 88 pp 27-28

[Article by Andras B. Balint: "Seminarians—In Military Uniform"]

[Text] It happened in a little Transdanubian town a few years ago. Being on leave a Sunday morning, three conscripts dropped in the local church and attended

mass. They were theologians, so no one could reproach them for obeying the voice of their conscience and practicing their religion. Yet, they were scolded for doing so, the argument being: a soldier, especially in uniform, must not cross the threshold of a church.

The situation has largely changed by now. The young men admitted to theological seminaries join an assigned military unit, but they regularly receive permission to leave to be able to attend religious services. They keep in touch with their pastors, and hold monthly consultations in the barracks' library or club in order to deepen their theological knowledge.

The Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Body issued a statement concerning military service in October 1986. The document states: "The Episcopal Body takes the position of the Catholic Church, of the teaching of the Second Vatican Synod, with regard to everything, including obligatory military service. The social teachings of the Catholic Church profess that it is the right and the obligation of the state to defend the nation, to serve for the benefit of the citizens and to sustain national and moral values; at the same time, it can require the citizens to do everything it needs in order to execute, protect and ensure its rights and obligations."

A couple of months later, nine soldier-seminarists wrote a letter to their chief pastor, and referring to the rest of the Papal encyclicals, asked for the further clarification of the situation and the introduction of alternative service for those who, for conscientious reasons, do not wish to take arms.

As we know from the daily news, negotiations are under way about this possibility. Meanwhile, the the service of theologians is under way as well.

Laszlo Danko, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, also visited the Cegled unit of the Hungarian People's Army. At present, 58 seminarians do military service in Cegled, thirty of them are Roman Catholics. The guest, understandably, paid great attention to their integration, the conditions of training, the form of community life and the conditions of practicing religion.

"Seminarians joined our unit in August, 1985, for the first time. We had prepared for it thoroughly, we had studied the guidelines of the state's church policy and its current issues, and we had defined the tasks of the professional [theologian] staff. What shall I say, it was an unusual task, but we managed to cope with it. You can imagine the face of a highly experienced deputy officer when we told him that the boys regularly have to be given leave to attend mass or Bible class," says captain Gyula Kalman, commissioned political department head.

So, the seminarians are entitled to extraordinary treatment?

"Not at all. They have to undergo the same training and service as the others. They do not enjoy any privileges. Being intelligent people, they can integrate easily. In three years, only one person had to be called to account for dressing problems, and two soldiers for 'hiding religious literature'. Because they can keep only the Bible in the district area; the religious books, newspapers and magazines are in the library and must not be taken out of there.

And if a future horticultural student or an ordinary soldier would like to browse them?

"No problem. But there has been hardly any precedent for it."

Compared to the others, what kind of soldiers do the seminarians make?

"They are disciplined. They learn the subjects of the theoretical and political training easily and fast. They are active in the artistic groups, they organize theatre and concert visits. Their physical endurance, though, is weaker than that of manual workers. However, this is true for all the other students."

Seven Catholic, five Reformed and two Evangelical young men in the club. Old soldiers. Right at the beginning of the conversation I ask them to show me their separate districts when we finish.

"There is no such thing." Botond Bicskei, who will start his studies at the Pazmany Peter Academy of Theology in September, shakes his head. And it's better this way. We are soldiers just like the others, it would be a pity if they separated us. Christian ghetto? Who is that good for? We have to get used to live with people who think and behave in different ways.

A Calvinist lad, Robert Szalkay, disagrees.

"I think it would be more peaceful if we could be together. We wouldn't be exposed to attacks, molestation."

What kind of molestation?

"Well, nothing, the others sometimes make faces because we'll be discharged in August." Zoli Joo waves his hand. "The one year expires then, but they have to do another six months. Of course, they envy the horticultural students just like us."

Minor teasing still occurs. A 20 year old physical worker has a hard time understanding why his fellow of the same generation—"who seems to be perfectly normal"—accepts celibacy. There are also a few remarks that a priest doesn't work, just walks in the church's garden and generously feeds himself. A new draftee asked one of his seminarian roommates: "Is it true that they still collect the ninth [former church tax] from the faithful?"

"I miss the small community the most." Istvan Dozsa matriculated from a railroad mechanical vocational school. He was in the third grade [of the vocational school] when he decided to dedicate himself to God. "I attend a charismatic group; it was there that it dawned on me that for me this is the only way to go. I would like to deal with young people and lead a community myself. The parish is too large and too heterogeneous; faith can be lived more deeply in an intimate environment than amidst a large mass."

Jozsef Fekete is also a member of a basic community. He is sorry to see that there are more and more groups outside the church without a pastoral leader; these groups run the risk of becoming sectarian. They extract and absolutize one certain thesis from the Bible and they stand against the hierarchy. Zoli Joo also thinks that the community is important: they can discuss many questions like sexuality, child rearing, studying, and work. The youth prefer to listen to such things than to the unctuous preaching of the old vicar.

Has a community been developed here, among you?

"I came from a closed Evangelical congregation, and now I can see how good it is to exchange our opinions." Szabolcs Fule answers. "There are disputes, there are no quarrels. We are brothers in the faith and fellows in the service. True, I have never had prejudices, I was raised as a Catholic, and then I converted to the Evangelical religion through my mother. It's strange, but I also experience ecumenism, the Christian unity, here."

According to Szalkay, though, the unity is not strong enough. Even if three or four sit down to talk, they draw attention, they say. One or another overzealous officer immediately thinks that they hold a praying session, while, in reality, prayer is everybody's private matter.

Are there faithful among the average soldiers, too? Do they turn to you with conscientious or religious doubts?

"There are, even if not too many." Joo nods. "Sometimes we get striking questions. The other day one guy came to me asking what he should do: the girl he goes out with has become pregnant. Should they have an abortion? Another has asked for advice concerning his conflict with his parents. Choice of a career, search for God, continuing studies, many things come up. It is our obligation to answer. Not as seminarians, but as human beings."

The soldier helps wherever he can.

A young man hides silently in the corner: Jozsef Toth. He matriculated in Csenger, and he will start his theological studies in Debrecen, the Calvinist Rome. Toth—who comes from a 10-member gypsy family—thus will join an educational institution which enjoys a good reputation throughout Europe. His parents are not religious. "Antal Hadhazy, the Nyiradony reformed priest, is my

example: A priest can do a lot not only for the conversion of Gypsies, but also for their social advancement. The Gypsies of the Adony congregation work, study, build homes and live normal lives. And I can say the same thing about the Hodasz Greek Catholics where even masses are held in Gypsy language."

Aren't you afraid that if you're ordained and sent to a Hungarian village, people will ostracize you?

"At the entrance examination I was asked what kind of service I was preparing for? 'To work among the Gypsies, of course.' I replied. It is my task to win them over for God and the world. But I wouldn't be scared if I were sent to a purely Hungarian parish, either."

Haven't you been disadvantaged in the army because of your origin?

"I'm not the only Gypsy. I'm accepted. A faithful Rom in uniform—quite a strange guy."

It's pure joy to look around in the library: 13 thousand volumes, in strict order. Two thirds of them is fiction, the rest is scientific, educational and entertaining works. There are records and cassettes from Bach to Michael Jackson, from language lessons to folk music. And a couple of dozens of religious publications: *Uj Ember* [The New Man], *Reformatusok Lapja* [The Magazine of the Reformed], *Evangelikus Elet* [Evangelical Life], *Vigilia*, *Confessio*, and books on two high shelves.

"Even one year is not enough to read them all," an Evangelical boy observes. "And you also have to relax, play football and listen to the radio. Whenever I have time, I rather read the Catholic books, since Protestant literature will be compulsory study at the theological faculty anyway."

The professional, i.e., theological, consultations are also held in the library on cultural days. Gyula Nagy, Evangelical bishop, Istvan Jelenits, Piarist teacher, Janos Bojky, Reformed professor, Jozsef Vamos, the Dean of the Evangelical Academy and others have visited here. But, in addition to enhancing their knowledge, the faithful young men also need spiritual support. Usually Cegled priests take care of cultivating their souls.

At my request, captain Kalman immediately gives permission to two theologian soldiers to accompany me to the city and visit Gyula Zsedely dean, the rector of the recently sanctified Chapel of Magyarok Nagyasszonya [Chapel of the Lady of Hungarians]. The boys are happy with the unexpected leave—the rector is happy with the visit.

"...and happy that there are no complaints against our seminarians," he clatters the keys to the chapel. "According to their officers, they are helpful and industrious—that's the way they are worthy of their faith, too."

With what problems do the seminarians turn to you?

"I have tried to achieve that they can keep religious books other than the Bible in their districts. I requested that they can come to attend the Sunday mass in larger numbers and more frequently, since it is compulsory in our religion. I asked to get the time of the consultations on time so that I can organize the lecture. Our cooperation is good, as it was also proved when Captain Biro, representing the commander of the unit, was present at the celebration of the chapel's sanctification. And three seminarians were allowed to serve as ministrants."

In uniform?

"Of course, not, on such occasions they wear civil clothes. With permission."

What is your opinion of the faithful and priests taking arms?

"Look, The Holy Scriptures say it clearly: Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. I don't have a private opinion, I adhere to the position taken by the Episcopal Body. I know that there are negotiations about the possibilities of alternative service. We are hopeful that there will be a time when nobody has to take arms against his own will. I believe in a peaceful future in Europe."

However, aggression has to be countered, and he is a personal example for that. Rector Zsedely succeeded in saving 28 Jews during the arrow-cross terror, until he himself was captured by the Szalasi Gang. He survived miraculously.

Awed, we enter the chapel created by Ybl Prize winner Jozsef Kerenyi. The people in the neighborhood accomplished voluntary work worth 1 million forints. Across the entrance, there is Miklos Malocco's Madonna of Cegled, behind it—already in the cloister—a simple black wooden cross.

This is a life's work, too, Mr Rector. The boys, in line with their religion, genuflect.

Taking Arms or Shaking Hands

According to the Penal Code, those who do not comply with mandatory military service can be sentenced to five years in prison. However, we know that there are people who, citing conscientious objections, subject themselves to the law rather than to arms. We heard about their fate and numbers for the first time at the government spokesman's press conference on April 22, 1988: "Currently, 158 people are serving their punishment for refusing military service."

The first attempt to introduce alternative military service in Hungary was made in 1977. It was then that a supplement was added to the defense law making it possible for the followers of smaller churches to do nonarmed service. Since then 590 have refused to take arms. Only those were sent to prison who refused to do non-armed-military service, too. The measure taken ten years ago has not brought results: "joining" the army is still compulsory for the members of different denominations and larger churches, for example, the Catholics, do not enjoy even as much relief [as the smaller ones]. The question was put on the agenda again last year, after the conference the independent international organization called East-West Dialogue Network held in our country.

Officially, the request was presented by Archbishop Laszlo Paskai archbishop, chairman of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Body, at the meeting of the church leaders and the prime minister: "Make it possible for certain groups of the religious youth to have alternative military service."

In the wake of the high-level meetings in March, the East-West Circle—the Hungarian section of the above-mentioned organization—handed over a law draft consisting of 17 paragraphs to the Chairman of the General Assembly suggesting that those who are currently serving a prison term be released and given the possibility of alternative military service.

Initiated by the National Peace Council, representatives of the State Church Office, the Ministry of Defense, the KISZ, the peace movement and the churches organized a debate concerning the question of youth searching for an alternative solution. The participants of the meeting concluded: It is possible to find a domestic solution acceptable for everybody.

KISZ Seeks Cooperation With MDF, March Front To Build New 'Consensus'

*25000039B Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
22 Sep 88 p 3*

[Open letter to MDF and the March Front: "University Youth Wants New Political Platform"]

[Text] At its Wednesday session, the University and College Council of the Central Committee of the KISZ discussed the political program of the party's youth organization operating in institutions of higher education. The discussion focused on the most important questions of content and organization of the program currently being developed.

The discussion pointed out that, due to the national congress of the MSZMP held in May, the modernization of the political institutional system has perceptibly accelerated. As a consequence, the younger generations have considerably more ample room to express their opinion about questions of interest to them, about political and professional questions, in a much more unambiguous

way than before. It was said that this pleasing change was very much needed, since the deficiencies of the KISZ had been becoming more and more apparent over the recent years.

In recent months, the KISZ, feeling the ever increasing and ever more unpleasant dissatisfaction, has wished to play an important role in the reform process and the modernization process affecting the entirety of our society. In this spirit, it recently decided to convene a national session by the end of November, where they will evaluate the work done since the previous congress and set the new tasks. The changes would affect all the issues concerning youth but mainly the institutions of higher education where the influence of the KISZ has decreased the most. It is only with a new political program that the renewed organization starting to work after the national meeting can face being weighed by the university and college youth.

According to the proposal, the goal of this organization cannot be but the participation in the creation of a democratic, socialist Hungary. The document of the EFT [University and College Council] states: "We would like to build a commodity producing society built on the determining proportion of common property, in which the leading values are: voluntarism, democracy, respect for self-organization, risk taking, the solidarity and the entrepreneurial behavior of those cooperating in the organization." At the same time, the organization is aiming for "a socialist society that builds on the progressive historical and political traditions of the reform-spirited Communist movement, social democracy, populist movements and bourgeois democratic trends. However, it views as unacceptable and fights against trends characterized by aiming at a monopolistic situation, at expropriating power, at weakening and eliminating the civil society."

The council's session also accepted the proposal according to which a stratum meeting will be held in November, preparing for the national meeting.

Finally, the council sent an open letter to the two recently formed organizations, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the New March Front. Among others, they emphasize the following: "With their formation and operation, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the New March Front can contribute to the radical and overall reform of the Hungarian socialism, claimed and urged by us, too. The social goals expressed in their programs may represent a promising basis for the dialogue between our organizations, so we offer our cooperation in the interest of the realization of common goals. Our cooperation is built on critical solidarity. Necessarily, there are and there will be differences between the ways and means of the University and College Council and those of the new organizations and movements. The choice by the society from among these can be helped by public dialogue, the mutually respectful

debate that does not aspire to exclusivity. In this spirit, we initiate a political discussion about the chances and possible ways of creating a new, dynamic social consensus"—ends the open letter.

MIOT: Youth Umbrella Organization Membership Growing

25000026c Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
29 Sep 88 p 7

[Text] Acting upon the August call of the drafting committee of the National Council of Hungarian Youth (MIOT), so far 12 organizations, associations, movements, and self-governing groups have declared their wish to participate in the work of the youth interest coordinating forum, a people's frontline umbrella organization for the different groups of Hungarian youth. The drafting committee forged its position on the main function, operational principles, and conditions of the MIOT after several debates. Reporters were informed about all this by the members of the drafting committee yesterday at the headquarters of the KISZ Central Committee. The representatives of the future member organizations also attended the briefing.

As it was said: To date the National Union of Large Families, the MTESZ [Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations], the Association of Hungarian Students' Sport, the Association of Hungarian Pioneers, the Club of Young Attorneys, the National Association of Red Cross, the Association of Young Environmentalists, the Catholic Youth Communities, the Student Bible Circle, the Association for the Dissemination of Knowledge, the TOT [not further identified] and the FIDESZ [Organization of Young Democrats] have contacted the drafting committee. The membership of FIDESZ is subject to the decision of both the FIDESZ's own congress to be held in the near future and the meeting of the MIOT. This way, including the organizations, groups, and committees that take part in the work of the drafting committee, and knowing about intentions to join in the future, the number of the different member organizations, youth groups, and associations representing themselves in the National Council of Hungarian Youth can be estimated at 20-25. The drafting committee includes the representatives of the professional groups, the Central Committee of KISZ, the HNFOT [National Council of the PPF] and its youth committee, the youth committee of SZOT [National Council of Trade Union], the Catholic Youth Movement, the Circle 405, the National Association of Entrepreneurs, and the Students' Association.

Concerning the date of the statutory meeting, they said that, although opinions differ about when it should be held, the preparational committee's standpoint is that it has to be convened until October 31.

As Istvan Stumpf, the chairman of the drafting committee emphasized: In the course of the debates, the members of the committee had clarified that the MIOT is an

interest coordinating, opinion gathering, grassroots, independent, and people's front-type forum. It does not wish to relate either to the KISZ or to the People's Patriotic Front, and it does not wish to operate as an organization.

At the briefing, the representatives of the KISZ Central Committee, the National Council of the People's Patriotic Front, the Catholic Youth Movement, the SZOT Youth Committee, the TOT, and the FIDESZ and one of the organizers of the Social-Democratic Youth Forum spoke about the position taken by their respective organizations with regard to MIOT. They all agreed in that the MIOT has to operate as an interest coordinating forum. Opinions differed about whether MIOT should shape its stances on the basis of the accordance of all the member organizations or on the majority opinion disclosing publicly the position of the minority as well. Other unclarified questions, among others, are the following: the possibility of creating the economic basis for the operation; whether the member organizations should all have equal voting rights or whether those should be based on the size of their membership; and how the regional and local youth organizations can join the MIOT.

University Teachers, Workers Form Independent Trade Unions

25000039a Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
19 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Laszlo Kis Papp, University professor and chairman of the newly formed Trade Union of Higher Education Workers by Irene Szabo: "At a Time When Confidence Is Lost, Only Deeds Are Valid"]

[Text] Dr Laszlo Kis Papp, professor at the Institute of Geodesy of the Budapest Technical University, is well-known and considered to be an authority in his field of activity. In the past weeks, however, he drew the public's attention with another function that cannot be called exactly professional. His name figures at the bottom of an official declaration, and he signed a letter recently forwarded by the post office to minister Imre Pozsgay. These signatures mean that Papp is the chairman of the Trade Union of Higher Education Workers formed a few weeks ago—a trade union calling itself a new, independent, democratic, and, last but not least, grassroots organization. We asked the chairman what kind of guarantee he can see that the FDSZ will be able to accomplish more than what the Trade Union of Educators has been in representing the stratum of higher education.

[Answer] Our main guarantee is the determination of 30,000 workers of higher education; but since this is too abstract this way, I make it more specific. We have been a very small stratum within the the Trade Union of Educators. Our interests did not have priority. By now, the problems of higher education have accumulated so much that they need remedy without further delays. In the midst of the accelerating events of the political life, the Council of Higher Education decided that it would

use the organized power of our own membership and would find the best form to exercise this power. So it happened that of the thought born in the spring the independent trade union was formed by October—said in his introduction Laszlo Kis Papp.

Separation and independence by themselves do not guarantee anything. The meeting of representatives finally voted for this form, but I remember the observations expressing doubt. The FDSZ takes on a mighty challenge if it wants to breach the wall of doubts; and the only way to build something from below is to build below, too.

At a time when confidence is lost it is only deeds that are valid. The membership is antiapparatus. So am I personally; therefore, I represent the opinion that the FDSZ does not need a general secretary, its "apparatus" cannot consist of paid employees, its elected leaders have to work voluntarily while they retain their chosen institutional function as well. Consequently, I, as the present chairman of FDSZ, wish to work without a filler [penny] of compensation as the trade union steward-secretary of the Technical University and its researcher and teaching professor. The executive committee also took the position that the only paid employee of the FDSZ should be the secretary. This way, we are really going to be the most efficient trade union of the world, and we can give more of the retained 65 percent of the membership fees for those of our members who need it. Only what the membership wants can happen in the FDSZ. This wish is sacred! Therefore, the executive committee, the secretary or the chairman play only an executive role. These are not only forms but also guarantees of the grassroots organization.

As I understand the Council of Higher education will also be completely reformed and its structure remodelled.

This aim also serves the efficient interest representation. So far, for instance, only the trade union steward-secretaries or chairmen and the higher education members of the educators' central leadership could take part in the Council of Higher Education. Now we'll expand it with stewards and faculty secretaries delegated from below. Also, our idea is that nobody should spend in their elected leading position longer than 2 or 3 years. I think that otherwise the fulfilling this task would be at the expense of our professional work, since both the platform and the trade union fight requires a whole man.

[Question] Does this mean that there will be fight, too?

[Answer] I do not have any illusions to the contrary. What the meeting of our delegates spelled out in the letter written to the minister, no doubt, will not be much to the liking of the government circles. And, although the FDSZ is just forming the final, or as we call it, zero program of its most urgent things to do, in certain questions there is perfect agreement among us. I mean,

for example, our demand that the leadership of the country cannot do anything else but regard higher education as a strategic branch because the education of future, modernly trained intellectuals depends on us and the material conditions of the institutions. It is outrageous that the universities and colleges are struggling with petty financial problems. We don't have money for educational instruments. The building of our faculty of physics is in a simply tragic condition. The professors are overworked. At the electric faculty, for example, at least 4 out of 8 workers are gravely ill. And it is at least equally embittering if I say that, at our universities, colleagues with Ph.D.s take home only 10-12 thousand forints net a month. That's why the FDSZ demands that in 1989 the workers of the institutions of higher education receive at least a 40-percent, lump-sum raise provided out of central money.

[Question] The central leadership of the Trade Union of Educators voiced the same claim recently. Moreover, the whole educator community is letting itself heard with different open letters urging similar or even higher raises. If you are asked: all right, all right, but out of what, what will you answer?

[Answer] It cannot be our duty to always accept and tolerate the continuous pretexts and to comprehend even the uncomprehensible. Nevertheless, we have an idea. We think that the proportion [of funds] the government "sacrifices" for education and, within that, for the development of higher education, is too little. By the way, it should not make any sacrifice. Let it not do us a favor. The financing of the smooth operation of higher education is the duty of the state everywhere in the world. It would be fine if also the leaders of our country realized the danger which, indirectly, prompted the creation of the FDSZ, and stopped further deepening it citing short-term budget interests. No reform program can be carried out and the nation's economy cannot be balanced without developing the higher education and without putting in order, morally and financially, its affairs. The run-down institutions, the overworked, exhausted teachers struggling to make ends meet are increasingly inapt for fulfilling the tasks that serve the country's interest. Our opinion is that, even by changing the proportions [of the distribution] of the budget, the government must act urgently.

[Question] The zero program draft you mentioned will probably undergo a great deal of fine-tuning and alteration in the course of the members' debates. Still, would you say something about its major points?

[Answer] Our program is the program of modernization. We are determined to fight to achieve that the leaders of the universities and colleges be regarded as adults. There should be no interference in the composition of the subject matter of the courses and the syllabus. It shouldn't be decided for them what the number of attendance can be. They should be allowed to use the money provided by the budget as they see fit. Maybe it

sounds strange but I have to say that we want to enforce what today exists only in theory: that the basis for selection and recognition should be knowledge. Many things turned upside down have to be straightened out in the higher education as well.

The FDSZ was established leaving a series of unsettled and undefined matters to be clarified. As I understand it, following many stages, the second meeting of the FDSZ delegates will put an end to a series of issues at the end of the winter.

The second delegates' meeting will finalize the program and the bylaws of the organization. These are fundamental documents and, I have to say, we have been reprimanded for not reaching a common denominator in these questions at the statutory meeting. I think it's not bad at all if our membership, grown unaccustomed to debate, now relearns debating, and if in the most important questions we advance in the direction the majority deems best convincing, complementing and, God forgive me, opposing each other. I have to note that the statutory meeting of the FDSZ is of historic importance. This was the first occasion since the liberation that 200 delegates from 39 institutions of the Hungarian higher education gathered, met, exchanged opinions and let its voice heard in a statement composed together. The many different approaches and ideas that surfaced at this meeting proved exactly that our common problems have a thousand ramifications. It's my personal conviction that this also strengthens the justification of the FDSZ's existence. True, we also have to learn democracy, just like how to make clever compromises, because it cannot be our goal that the movement get atomized. This is the starting point of the FDSZ's executive committee when it says that it wishes to operate in alliance with the Trade Union of Educators and the organizations of the workers of public education and of institutions of higher education belonging to other ministries. In alliance, but also giving and demanding the respect of special interests. The FDSZ doesn't accept mediators, it wants to be the direct negotiating partner of all those on whom the situation of higher education in Hungary depends. As you say, there are many uncrystallized matters around us. But one thing is certain. We take part in the big job of remodelling the movement, but it is our unambiguous standpoint that the SZOT must be a coordinating organization and not a directing apparatus.

Artists' Trade Union Offers Shield to Independent Journalists' Trade Union

25000026b Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in
Hungarian Sep 88 p 3

[Text] The board of directors of the Association of Artists' Trade Unions held a session over the weekend. On the basis of the experience of the members' debates held so far, it decided to convene a national meeting on 14 November. The representatives of acrobats, movie-makers, writers, artists in applied and fine arts, radio and television people, actors, and musicians can decide with

full authority about the action program of the trade unions, the organizational modernization, and related personnel questions. The board makes the offer to the journalists to join—if they agree—as an independent trade union.

POLAND

POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup
26000096a Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 40, 1 Oct 88 p 2

[Excerpts]

National News

The SD Central Committee held its 16th plenum: the ideological and program identity of the party and the situation in Poland were discussed prior to its congress coming up next year. Tadeusz Mlynczak, the chairman, said, among other things: "The point is for the entire coalition to become the guarantor of the socialist direction of development in Poland, for the three parties jointly, and not just one, to create an absolute majority in parliament. The point is also for all of the coalition partners to present their own proposals for solving the country's problems, in order, after agreement with the allies, to present them in the Sejm and after receiving its acceptance and to implement them under its control. . . . In the party, we think that the tripartite coalition should be open to dialogue with other political forces, operating in various organizational forms, including a constructive opposition. From this point of view, we propose the adoption of a law on political parties which could dissolve the many doubts that have gathered over the years." In conjunction with the inappropriate or imprecise press interpretations of the course of the plenum in the mass media, the SD Central Committee press spokesman published an announcement; it says, among other things, that according to the documents of the SD, the leading of the PZPR can be implemented together with the entire tripartite coalition in "a political system without the imponderables of the dictatorship of the proletariat." The spokesman quoted a proposal from before the 14th party congress: "We are and will remain within the tripartite coalition, for we are joined by common strategic goals, including concern for the interest of the Polish people."

Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, at a meeting with employees of the mining machinery factory Pioma in Piotrkow: "The round table is not a goal in itself. It is only a link in the political construction and a phase in the formation of a council of national reconciliation, which the resolution of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee mentions. We want to form this council. It is an important, far-reaching offer and not a temporary, tactical maneuver. But obviously, we do not want to implement this goal at any cost. Attempts, however, are being made to reduce discussion

at the round table exclusively to one issue, to registration of Solidarity. Efforts are also being made whose goal is to create accomplished facts, organized pressure. The point must be faced squarely: accomplished facts, ultimatums are a threat to the process of national reconciliation."

Beginning 16 October, the purchase prices for milk will increase by about 26 zloty per liter for first class milk, and the retail price will increase by 2 to 3 zloty per liter, depending on the fat content. Winter prices for butter and cottage cheese will also be restored.

In Rozana, in the Ostroleka Voivodship, the Jozef Pilsudski Society has been registered. The Society intends to undertake actions to return the monument of J. Pilsudski from Yugoslavia.

The new exchange rate for the dollar, the table of the National Bank of Poland for 26 September 1988: 480 zloty (asked, 489.60).

The embassy of the FRG in Warsaw issued more than 480,000 visas during the first eight months of 1988, nearly 50 percent more than during the same period last year.

ZEGLARZ is the title of a new monthly which is published in Gdansk and is the journal of the Maritime League. The illustrated, multicolored magazine costs 250 zloty.

On the Left

"The Cold War was not our choice," L. Bezymenski and V. Falin in a lengthy article in PRAVDA. It could not be after such a brutal war and the loss of so many victims by our people. The documents presented show unambiguously that full responsibility for breaking the links between the former allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition falls on the Western countries, especially the United States. . . . The article provoked numerous commentaries in the Western press, including the charge of "acquitting" Stalin and Stalinism for international politics after World War II.

The CSSR has acquired further opportunities to intensify its trade and scientific and technical exchanges, especially in the machine-tool, chemical, and metallurgy industries. This was claimed after the visit of Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, to Prague. During his press conference Dumas confirmed that talks between Citroen and Skoda are continuing. He also announced an appeal to French industrialists for more frequent, bolder direct contacts with partners in the CSSR, especially in the area of investment. "One can expect that President Mitterrand and Premier Rocard will visit Czechoslovakia." Dumas also spoke with Cardinal Tomasek, the 90-year-old Primate of the Czechs, on whose energy and vitality, time, as I saw, has no influence."

The Czech weekly TVORBA published a sharp commentary on the tremendously conservative, outdated "cautiousness" of the CSSR authorities in tourism and cultural exchanges.

Prof Gruno F. Straub, chairman of the Presidial Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, said that he is a supporter of the multiparty system in Hungary, but at present it is not a possibility. "In the end, however, such a system will be necessary. I think that the system is unhealthy when the authorities must not worry about losing power."

The Hungarian Institute for Public Opinion Studies has approached a representative group of residents of Budapest to evaluate the performance of the government after its first year in office. Of the respondents, 77 percent thinks that the nation's economic situation is worse than it was a year ago, chiefly because of the decline in the living standard. Simultaneously, 44 percent think that the political situation is better (35 percent, worse). Those responsible for the economic crisis are the party and government, next, those managing the economy and the enterprises, and the old political leadership. The greatest dissatisfaction among respondents was aroused by the pay increases and the income taxes (for it "forces the citizens to finance a poor economic policy").

The opportunity to travel to Western countries, support for refugees from Transylvania, better reporting, and the freer atmosphere in Hungary received the most positive evaluations. Of the respondents, 70 percent were of the opinion that the new government had introduced many positive changes in the country.

Opinions

Kazimierz Obsadny, chairman of the Trade Union for Workers in the Ponar Mechanical Equipment Factory in Ostrzeszow:

[Answer] I am not interested in debates about the superiority of socialism over capitalism or the reverse. In the operation of the state and society, one must learn, even if from the devil. Many of the solutions in capitalism are good, why not take them, including from the political system? Will political and union pluralism overthrow the party immediately? I do not think so; the people in their mass have become stupid. Recall the last months of 1981. Under the wings of Solidarity at that time there were probably 10 or 11 parties. And what happened? They vegetated, eating themselves up internally and mutually; they were not a genuine threat to the order or to the party. They were at most an added attraction. We should not fear bold measures; they more than anything else disable all the politicians of the underground. Those who truly brought down the workers' Solidarity and who have understood little even to this day.

(Interviewed by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz, ZWIAZKO-WIEC 4 September 1988)

Stanislaw Szwalbe, former chairman of the Main Committee of the Polish Socialist Party:

[Question] . . . in the Temporary Government of the Republic of Poland and in the Temporary Government of National Unity, there was, at least, a formal balance of power judging by the number of ministerial portfolios assigned to the activists of both parties?

[Answer] First, the Communists knew that they alone could not form either a National People's Council or the Polish National Liberation Committee, or the Temporary Government, or the Temporary Government of National Unity. Otherwise, they must have decided to introduce military dictatorship. Thus in speaking of our participation in the governments, one must take into account the strategic or tactical views that directed the Polish Workers' Party's actions rather than its desire to share power.

Second, there was never any actual equality between the two parties in exercising power if just for the reason that the Polish Workers' Party had the army behind it, controlled the security apparatus and the portfolio of the foreign ministry. To be sure, in the Temporary Government of National Unity Stanislaw Leszczynski, a member of the Polish Socialist Party, was deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Henryk Wachowicz, another PSP member, was deputy head for public security. But basically both had little to say and left the government after a couple of weeks."

(Interviewed by Marek Zieleniewski, WPROST 4 September 1988)

Doc Dr Jadwiga Staniszkis, sociologist at Warsaw University:

"Among the politicians the vision of the authorities as a 'substitute society' still remains. This is a continuation of what Lenin said after the ninth congress of the Bolsheviks: the state must replace the capitalists, and the party the proletariat. It is possible to disagree with this formula, but the prorevolutionary formula of property negates society and we end up dealing with atoms, gathered either around their wage interests or around their moral symbols in moments of great upheaval.

Neither of the types of articulation offers any opportunities for solving the problems facing our country. . . . I think that we have two possible ways out of our current stalemate: either a change in the state sector in the direction of introducing group ownership, stock, capital markets, and commercial banks, which would lead to new economic and social objects. . . . The second type of reaction is increased centralism: the authorities would act in the interest of reform, destroying in the process the logic of this reform."

(From a discussion at its editorial offices published in ZARZADZANIE, August 1988)

Cardinal Dr Henryk Gulbinowicz, chairman of the Polish Episcopate Commission for Pastoral Work among the Working People:

[Answer] . . . A working person should have not only a place of work and wages worthy of that position, but also the right to express himself at work on the issues associated with the life and operation of his plant, and a voice that is codeterminative. In accord with the postulates of contemporary Catholic social teachings, each working person has the right to participate in the management of the enterprise in which he works. It is not true that the director is to be the only decisionmaker in the factory or other place of work. Whence the great role for authentic workers' self-management in the modern enterprise. The right of the worker to participate in the profits of the enterprise, if just by favorable purchases of stock, are connected with this.

(Interviewed by Katarzyna Wyzga, NOWE ZYCIE 11-25 September 1988)

Slawomir Tabkowski, head of the Propaganda Section of the PZPR Central Committee:

[Question] Can Walesa be a Sejm deputy?

[Answer] Walesa himself has shown no interest in this. . . but it is possible to think that if the process of dialogue proceeds normally and favorably, then he could find a place in the Council of National Reconciliation and as a result, perhaps, in the Sejm, if, obviously, he were elected.

(Comment during the press conference at the celebrations of the anniversary of UNITA quoted following RZECZPOSPOLITA 16 September 1988.)

The opinions and views cited in this section do not always agree with those of the editors.

Press, Personnel Changes, Media Developments July 1988

26000074b Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish
No 9, Sep 88 pp 59-61

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Excerpts]

1 July

Andrzej Gorzym has been named the organizer and deputy editor in chief of WIEDZA I ZYCIE.

Jacek Poprzeczko has been named deputy editor in chief of POLITYKA.

The Aviation Journalists' Club of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic organized a two-day tour of military aviation units. During the tour the journalists observed takeoffs and landing by jets on highways.

2 July

In Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII awarded its prizes for party journalism in PZPR dailies and weeklies in 1987.

4 July

In Warsaw at the Journalists' House, the Worldview Journalist Club of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic organized a meeting on the millennium of the baptism of Rus. The club's guests were priests of the Orthodox Church who had participated in the millennium celebrations in the USSR.

5-10 July

During the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA days in Poland, round table discussion, press conferences, festivals, concerts, and premiers of Soviet films organized by the editors of SZTANDAR MLODYCH were held in Warsaw, Krakow, and Katowice.

11 July

Jan Okulicz-Kozaryn was removed from his position as deputy editor in chief of SPORTOWIEC.

In Krakow, at the Journalists' Club, Under the Pear, on the initiative of the board of the Krakow Section of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic, a meeting was held on the course and social reception of the 19th CPSU conference. Prof Marian Stepień, editor in chief of ZDANIE, who was a guest at the conference, and Andrzej Magdon, editor in chief of ECHO KRAKOWA, shared their impressions from their stay in the USSR.

15 July

Bogdan Leski has been named editor in chief of SLOWO PODLASIA.

Krzysztof Szeląg has been named deputy editor in chief of TYGODNIK OSTROLECKI.

31 July

Zbigniew Rog was removed from his position as editor in chief of ROZRYWKA in conjunction with his retirement.

Supplement

In the previous issue, the chronicle of personnel changes in the press in June 1988 did not contain all of the decisions. Below we provide a supplement.

1 June

Marian Pilot has been named deputy editor in chief of REGIONY.

15 June

Wienchysław Zaczek has been named deputy editor in chief of NA PRZELAJ.

30 June

Halina Kowalewska was removed from her position of editor in chief of POLUDNIOWA WIELKOPOLSKA.

Intellectuals on Roundtable Prospects
26000073 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
Nos 37, 38; 10, 17 Sep

[Poll of Leading Opposition and Regime Intellectuals: "What To Sit With at the Roundtable?"]

[No 37, 10 Sep 88 pp 1, 3]

[Text] No more time can be lost! This thought is voiced by people from both the government and the oppositionist circles. The idea of a Council for National Accord offered by Wojciech Jaruzelski and the concept of the roundtable proposed by Czesław Kiszczak have met with tremendous interest domestically and are powerfully resonating in the mass media and among politicians abroad, and so has the idea of the first preliminary meetings prior to the convening of the roundtable.

It was precisely with a thought toward preparing the social and ideational soil for the roundtable that we turned to a number of well-known personages from various circles—government, independent, and oppositionist—with the request to answer the following questions:

1. In your opinion, what should be the subject of the dialogue between the government and the oppositionist groupings?

2. In your opinion, should the opposition become a component element of the structures of state in Poland?

ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR (b. 1916), professor, Dr, historian, director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, active member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, in the early 1980s president of the Polish Academy of Sciences, during 1980-85 chairman of the International Committee for the Historical Sciences:

1. The subject of the negotiations should be the broad domain of political, social, and economic life, whose debatable and painful problems should be brought closer to a solution through common effort. The catalogue of these problems is long. Foremost is the sociopolitical issue of coresponsibility in adopting and implementing decisions, the question of participatory governance.

Here there is a need for bold measures and unprecedented forms and structures, beginning with the trade-union movement and ending with various forms of the society's representation in a coalition for national salvation.

2. The concept of the opposition includes not just opposing the authorities but also and above all a great variety of groupings with diverse views, propositions, and assessments, whose mutual contestation is the essence of political democracy. This means making it possible for these groupings to be present and offer their views in the structures of the state, to be properly legalized, to have prospects for influencing decisions on both broad and local national issues, to participate openly in public life and social control, and also to undertake national obligations in particularly difficult situations like the present. We have both a need and an opportunity for finding indigenous solutions which might seem surprising only yesterday but which today have become a necessity.

STANISLAW STOMMA (b. 1908), lawyer, during 1957-76 a deputy to the Sejm and chairman of the Znak [Catholic Association] Caucus of Sejm Deputies, in the early 1980's chairman of the Primate's Social Council:

1. I would consider it most urgent to determine what we might call a timetable of actions for the present, the near future, and the longterm future. Such a division is highly important because the issues to be resolved at present are the issues whose resolution would enable us to emerge from the deep economic and political crisis impeding normal Polish life at present. And hence I consider the following two problems to be current:

—The preparation of the so-called roundtable (to which Gen Kiszczak is inviting) with the principal topic being pluralism in the trade-union movement and the exploration (and finding) of the road toward this pluralism. To me there is no doubt that this must be the basis for said roundtable. But this does not mean that the manner in which the problem will be resolved can be foreseen in advance. Two possibilities arise, roughly speaking: a) a multiplicity of trade unions at various levels; or b) the assumption that in every factory only one trade union exists and operates and that the participants, members of that union elect their officers freely and without being pressured.

And hence I perceive the principal purpose of the roundtable to be settling the worker problem, so that pluralism may become a fact, inasmuch as pluralism has become a symbol, so to speak. Thus, this has to be accepted. Besides, I am convinced that in real life this can be somehow arranged in a spirit that is more compromising than intransigent.

—The formation of some committee of economic experts. That committee should be endowed with emergency powers for combatting the crisis and economic

impotence. So that the society would know that the issue of combatting the crisis is in the most credible hands. Of course, such a committee should also include experts in whom the government has confidence.

Tasks for the Near Future

—In connection with the coming elections to the supreme legislative body, the Sejm, it is urgent to work out a program that would contribute to eliminating the division into rulers and the ruled. Eventually the question of a second legislative chamber, a chamber to which independent constituencies could delegate their representatives, could be discussed.

—A compromise should be reached with the opposition on electoral laws. The point is that people should feel that the elections are not a sham. For example, if we assume that 40 percent of the seats will be held by the so-called independent constituencies, then the proportions 60:40 have to be negotiated. I believe that the opposition too understands historical necessities. Of course, a new electoral law would be tantamount to reaching a major compromise with the independent structures.

2. I do not want to consider this at present. I would not even want to scare anybody with the question thus formulated. I believe that a successful implementation of the foregoing desiderata would contribute to a positive answer to this second question. Poland would thereby become a more or less normal country, free of internal barricades. That would open the road to tackling long-range problems as well.

MARIUSZ GULCZYNSKI (b. 1928), political scientist, professor at the Institute of the State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences, member, Executive Committee of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council:

1. Not only hopes but also fears are being linked to the idea of the roundtable, the Council for National Accord. Fears, because the elemental course of events may orient these initiatives solely toward extinguishing social tensions and conflicts, that is, mainly toward reinforcing the "safety valve" or "fire brigade section" of our national organism. Poles have—fortunately—two mighty and socially highly authoritative institutions protecting the nation and state against collapse: the army and the church. But we are deficient in equally authoritative centers for concentrating social initiative and proreform activism. For the proreform forces are scattered and divided into the camps of the authorities and the opposition, entangled in false alliances with conservative forces on the one hand and with rebel forces on the other, and expending the bulk of their energies on dissent and its combatting instead of focusing them onto a common struggle for a consistent, rapid, and deep restructuring of the Polish economy and politics. Hence the hope that the subject of the dialogue will be not only the question of

how to "extinguish" social tensions but also "how to fire up" universal positive initiative, proactivism, and resourcefulness and thus surmount the crisis-conflict situation.

2. Limiting changes to the legalization of organizational forms of the opposition and leaving the opposition outside the structures of state will not change the present situation markedly, for it will inevitably nudge the opposition toward attempts to influence the authorities by means of dissent, encouragement of claimant attitudes, etc., negative in form and destructive in behavioral consequences. An undoubtedly necessary and possible progress would be represented by including representatives of organized oppositionist groupings in the state's representative bodies on a scale serving not only to demonstrate their presence but also to enable them to influence the decisions of the authorities. For shared decisionmaking is a necessary prerequisite for coreponsibility. I think it desirable, though I doubt whether that would be feasible soon, to form a Government of National Reconciliation, signifying a temporary suspension of struggle and conflicts in view of the dramatic nature of our crisis situation and the focusing of common effort on implementing an agreed-upon program for recovery and growth.

MIKOLAJ KOZAKIEWICZ (b. 1923), professor at the Institute of the Village and Agriculture, Polish Academy of Sciences, member of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] leadership, cofounder of the PRON, deputy to the Sejm:

1. First, concerning the purpose of the dialogue between the authorities and the opposition: it is to achieve by negotiation what each side desired to achieve by duress. The dialogue has a chance of succeeding if its guiding purpose is the good of the Country rather than the good and the interests of each "side." This presupposes willingness to compromise and to meet each other halfway. The subject of the dialogue can be anything, without any preconditions and restrictions. But to be sure, it will be necessary to make a choice and determine the priorities of problems to be discussed, and that should be the first task of the dialogue. The dialogue should not be confined to temporary issues and problems. It is to outline the future shape of Polish statehood, the basic principles for the division of power and organization of the economy, and the ways and means of attaining such a qualitatively different vision of socialist Poland. The subject of the dialogue should not be, I believe, refining and improving the existing system; it should rather be the directions and ways and means of creating a completely new system in which only the values of socialism would remain unchanged, while the mechanisms of assuring and achieving these values should be totally renewed. Like any other process, it too has to have its bounds, and an unambiguous and agreed-upon delimitation of these bounds is the next important purpose of the dialogue.

2. I believe, not just since now, that the opposition not only can but should enter the structures of the state (the Sejm, people's councils, self-governments) if the state

authorities are to be credible representatives of the nation. I believe that this process should be of an evolutionary nature. Had we admitted 60 oppositionist and independent deputies to the Sejm, as I proposed in 1984, we would have advanced much farther on this road by now. At present we have to begin from the scratch after a delay of 4 years. Besides, it is not only the authorities but also the opposition that is responsible for these delays, since it has been in no hurry to avail itself of the to be sure numerically much more modest offers made to its representatives. As in any other system, an opposition that acts within the framework of the constitution (which also is a subject of the dialogue) protects the interests of particular segments of the society and promotes the choice of solutions consonant with its ideological premises while at the same time bearing coresponsibility for the country's fate.

ANDRZEJ STELMACHOWSKI (b. 1925), professor, Dr, Institute of Legal-Administrative Sciences, University of Warsaw, and Department of State Civil Law, ATK [Academy of Catholic Theology], chairman of the Warsaw Club of the Catholic Intelligentsia:

1. Undoubtedly the issues relating to the evolution of the system's framework are most important. After all, the pressures of the moment cause trade-union pluralism and finding a place for Solidarity in the system to be the most urgent issue. Otherwise, the worker problem cannot be solved, and yet that is necessitated by every—economic, political, and ideological—consideration.

2. In theory yes. However, the formula of the party's leading role would have to be fundamentally reassessed. In the present situation I perceive considerable obstacles to many oppositionist factions. I am not, of course, speaking of the extremist factions which generally perceive no place for themselves within the existing systemic framework. But I believe that it is not these extremist groups that are decisive to the shape of political life.

JERZY TUROWICZ (b. 1912), cofounder of *TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY* and its editor in chief, longtime chairman of the *Znak* Social Publishing Institute:

1. The principal and nearly sole topic of discussion by the roundtable has to be the problem of trade-union pluralism. Nearly sole, because unless tangible progress is made in this respect, discussion of other topics would be pointless and the prospects for the future would be dismal. The argument that trade-union pluralism menaces the unity of the working class is trivial, considering that that unity is nowadays practically nonexistent. If progress is made on the issue of trade-union pluralism, the issue of social pluralism also should be a subject of discussion. I mean freedom of association also in political life, in culture, in the media, where for the time

being pluralism is rather seeming. Possibilities for cooperation or for the anticrisis pact can be discussed once progress is made on the issue of both trade-union and political pluralism.

2. As for the question of whether oppositionist groupings could find some place for themselves in the state structures of the present system (assuming its evolution), this hinges on enabling these groupings to constitute themselves into legal independent organizations retaining full autonomy, authenticity, and identity and endowing them with the right of untrammelled expression of their views. That would be proof that the society is regaining its sovereignty, of which it has so far been deprived.

RYSZARD WOJNA (b. 1920), journalist, now at *RZECZPOSPOLITA*, longtime editor in chief of, among others, *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*, Sejm deputy since 1976, chairman of the Sejm's Foreign Affairs Committee since 1981:

1. Much indicates that the changes occurring in the political system of People's Poland are oriented toward its acceptance of the existence of the opposition and inclusion of the latter in coresponsibility for the state. Hence, a subject of the talks should be the limits of that coresponsibility with respect to both domestic and foreign policies.

A major issue and one whose treatment would be a test of political maturity of the opposition, is taking a clear position on the contemporary Polish *raison d'etat*. Only a Poland friendly toward the Soviet Union and regarded by the latter as a solid element of its security system has a chance for peaceful development. Given the present alignment of forces in the world, were Poland to abandon the road of friendship with the USSR, that would force Moscow to radically change the Soviet concept of security. In the past it was always Poland that paid the price for it. I believe that those in the opposition who point to their National Democratic legacy understand well the nature and importance of this problem.

2. Yes, because only then the representatives of the oppositionist forces will be able to give proof of their responsibility upon being enabled to influence changes in this country through instruments of legal pressure.

[No 38, 17 Sep 88 p 3]

[Excerpt]

ANTONI MACIEREWICZ (b. 1948), historian:

1. Three issues predominate nowadays. First, pluralism of trade unions and associations, and especially the registration of Independent and Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity. This pluralism is a fact. Since, however, the power apparatus still refuses to acknowledge it, it is the subject of political struggle. This leashes the energy needed to repair the society and the state in accordance

with the aspirations of Poles and the challenges of the 21st century. For there is no doubt that pressures in this direction shall continue until a political system accepting fundamental freedoms of socio-occupational life arises.

The second issue is economic policy and system. Professor Baka announced that 500 billion zlotys worth of consumer goods shall be supplied to the market by year end. This means at least a temporary change in economic policy. The point is that this change be permanent. The new economic system should support private enterprise, both individual and collective. In this case, too, the state's monopoly should be broken. Otherwise tensions will resurface and Poland will continue to decline.

The third issue is ideological indoctrination, at its sharpest in the school system and the mass media. It is high time to relinquish the model of the ideological state forcing its vision on the citizens. Let Marxist newspapers propagate their views, let those groupings establish their own schools, but also let Catholics have the same opportunity. This applies of course to groupings with other orientations.

2. Participation in state structures hinges on two factors: the actual possibilities for sociopolitical action and the adaptation of these structures to public will. For the time being, neither of these conditions has been met. In this matter it is better to proceed at a slower pace but realistically than at a fast but fictitious pace. Thus, e.g., had the laws governing elections to people's councils made it possible for any civic group to nominate its own candidates, and had these elections been genuinely free and democratic, the opposition would of a certainty have taken part in them. All the opposition groupings known to me agree on this. This is thus an issue that can be discussed substantively once the problems mentioned in point 1 above are resolved.

TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI (b. 1927), publicist, editor in chief of the monthly WIEZ and subsequently of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC, chairman of the experts' commission under the interfactory strike committee at the Gdansk Shipyard in August 1980, vice chairman of the Warsaw Club of the Catholic Intelligentsia:

1. Poland should be the principal topic. Poland is the paramount and common value. This attitude should underlie establishing a dialogue in which no one can or should try to deceive any other participant. And for the very reason that the subject should be Poland and ways of overcoming the feeling of hopelessness, what is needed is not only a dialogue but also the resolution of the fundamental issue, namely, legalizing Solidarity. The time of solutions attempting to ignore this problem is past. It cannot be protracted by saying yes to the opposition and no to Solidarity. The opening of a new page in the situation of this country will be decided by whether this problem is resolved without delay. Trade-union pluralism will not eliminate conflicts, just as its absence is not eliminating them, but it does not have to lead to a

condition of permanent confrontation. Despite the deep substrata of mistrust existing on both sides, we have to be capable of an effort to understand mutual fears and of the will to act and resolve this problem.

2. This reasoning has to be reversed and the question posed whether structures of state will become sufficiently open for accommodating the opposition—an opposition not in the form of individuals co-opted into structures of state but in the form of organized groupings or political formations retaining their own identity—their own system of values and goals—and exerting genuine influence on decisions of the state.

JANUSZ REYKOWSKI (b. 1929), professor, Dr, psychologist, Director of the Institute of Psychology at the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), corresponding member of the PAN:

1. I believe that changes in the mode of governance are necessary in Poland. The point is to establish a system of institutions capable of:

—accelerating civilizational changes;

—preserving stability despite the difficulties and tensions linked to the implementation of the reforms needed for the acceleration;

—guaranteeing political autonomy for broad segments of the society which so far have felt themselves deprived of that autonomy;

—preserving fidelity to the social and moral principles of socialist ideology.

The new system of institutions cannot be granted by some royal charter. It has to be worked out by common discussion, through a consensus with all the significant centers of sociopolitical thought in our country. A form for such discussion can be provided by the roundtable discussion [with Solidarity].

2. In speaking of the opposition's role it seems to me we raise two different issues.

The first, which concerns the system of society as a whole, is whether the system of power in Poland should be changed so as to make possible a lasting competition between two (or more) political forces (and program concepts) and turn this competition into the principal mechanism for balancing the political system and assuring the society's control of the government.

The second, "concretely historical" issue is whether the sociopolitical orientations currently termed the opposition in Poland should find a place within the framework of the political system.

Concerning the first issue, I believe that an institutionalized competition can be desirable in Poland's political life. But there can be various forms of opposition: those which through a fierce struggle destroy the foundations from which they grow and those which show a common concern for these foundations. I am in favor of creating the conditions for the emergence of only the latter forms.

As for the second issue, I believe that significant oppositionist groupings should find a place in our political system, a place which would not condemn them to the role of a perpetual caviler. This necessitates relinquishing certain dogmas which dominate the thinking of /all/ the sides entangled in political conflict in our country.

ROMUALD SOSNOWSKI (b. 1930), economist, member of the Presidium of the Socioeconomic Council under the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, vice chairman of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance]:

1. The first question has to be answered by first pointing out that nowadays the concept of "oppositionist milieu" has a meaning that is completely different from that of 2 years ago when it used to be unambiguously interpreted as referring to antisocialist or even underground groups. Nowadays hardly anyone still remains in the underground and, moreover, after 2 years of remaining more or less in conflict with the government, the OPZZ too stands distinctly opposed to it.

This is demonstrated by our recent declarations of disapproval of the manner in which the government is pursuing its policies as well as by the recent resolution of the OPZZ Council asking trade-union deputies to the Sejm to propose a vote of no confidence in the government of Prime Minister Z. Messner at the next session of the parliament.

The OPZZ representative shall sit down at the roundtable as neither a pillar of the government—as some people would and do wish to view us—nor a classically construed opposition. We want to and shall speak there in our own, independent and self-governing voice on behalf of our nearly 7 million membership. For that is how we acted, say, last May following the strike in Nowa Huta, when we condemned using force to solve the problems of working people.

Now, to judge on merit the two questions you ask, it seems to me that the principal issues to be considered in the dialogue between the government and the oppositionist milieu should include:

—The modes of governance in Poland, beginning with local and worker self-governments and ending with the Sejm. We support nationwide participatory governance and a merciless rejection of all antireform and bureaucratic power elements.

—A definition of the strategy and tactics of the state's socioeconomic policy, combined with a factual rather than shammed restructuring of the economy, which may enable us to retain our place among countries which shall start the 21st century from the first rather than the second row. For example, instead of augmenting coal extraction at any price, the entire effort should be focused on curtailing the energy- and materials-intensiveness of our economy and the thus liberated resources reallocated to the agricultural-industrial complex. We are fed up with hearing about crop disasters and the waste of agricultural resources.

—The ecology (strict accountability for poisoning the environment must be introduced).

—The restructuring of employment must be commenced. Employment in state and economic administration, in the inefficient subsectors of the national economy, etc., should be slashed to a minimum. Ways of implementing this operation so as to avoid any eventual social conflict due to the need to retrain hundreds of thousands of people should be considered.

—A major issue to be discussed at the roundtable is the problems of the rising generation, of young people whom recent years have reduced to the status of genuine [lumpen-]proletarians having nothing to lose and much to gain. The problem of veterans of labor whose increased pension and annuity benefits are automatically devastated by inflation should not be ignored either.

Yesterday's emotions about the roundtable discussion should be replaced by objective discussion. Concerning the attendant issue of trade-union pluralism, our position is that the workforces should decide on everything themselves, but bearing in mind the lessons learned from the past, when different models of trade-union movement had operated in Poland—those before 1980 and those during 1980-81.

All reform-minded forces should unite instead of dividing, so as to perform optimally their role as public servants. The history of our nation has more than once been offered to others as a model, an example of toleration of various views, ideas, and undertakings. Why is it that nowadays we cannot avail ourselves of our own historical experience?

I also think that in addition to the large roundtable there is a need for smaller ones, e.g., roundtables for discussion of trade union or youth affairs at which representatives of diverse views who at the same time are authentic representatives of working people or the rising generation could arrive at certain mutual decisions, even if through a sharp exchange of views.

2. I believe yes. However, certain general rules have to be adopted, especially adherence to the constitutional order. It may be eventually altered, but through discussion and appealing to the society by means of a referendum. Persons representing other views should participate in all the bodies in which the society wishes to see them.

KLEMENS SZANIAWSKI (b.1925), professor, Dr, logician, University of Warsaw, chairman, Coordinating Committee of Artistic and Scientific Societies during 1980-81:

1. Properly speaking there is just one issue deserving joint consideration: it is a fundamental revamping of the system under which we have been living for more than 40 years and which has brought Poland to the condition it is in now. It is too late for cosmetic improvements, and their consequences might be even worse than doing nothing, for they would produce the impression, as has already happened more than once in the past, that since something was changed the same road can be still be followed. In brief, the worst thing that can be done nowadays is creating make-believe. This is the main danger to the talks that will shortly commence.

Defining the program for dialogue more precisely is a task for its main protagonists. It will of a certainty include the issue of pluralism in the trade-union movement. But let us pose the matter more broadly: this concerns restructuring the institutions of collective life so as to assure sovereignty of the society. I realize the difficulties involved in such an undertaking given the existing political monopoly. But that precisely should be a subject of the dialogue between the authorities and the opposition.

2. For the opposition to participate in structures of the state, a highly obvious condition must be met, namely, that it would exert genuine influence on the decisions taken. No one would share only responsibility with the authorities. I think that some way of meeting this condition is possible. A concept in a similar spirit had been advanced 7 years ago, in the fall of 1981, without using the word "the opposition," but the idea was basically the same. Perhaps nowadays, in face of the peril to national existence, mutual understanding will be easier to achieve.

JERZY J. WIATR (b. 1931), professor, Dr, political sociologist, member of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Executive Committee:

It is by now banal to say that we are facing a radical political turning point. But the nature of that point and its consequences to Poland are not banal. It is very rarely that history offers a second chance to a nation. It may be that nowadays we have a second chance to settle the affairs of nation and state by reaching an understanding based on a negotiated compromise.

That compromise cannot be confined to economic matters alone, because nowadays their resolution depends on finding such a formula for governance as would serve to focus the effort of an overwhelming majority of the society on constructive labor for a common future. I perceive this formula just like I did 8 or 7 years ago and in the subsequent years, that is, as a formula for the cogovernance and coresponsibility of diverse forces which may oppose each other on various issues but are ready to settle their differences within the framework of legality and in a climate of compromise. This means relinquishing various monopolies: the monopoly on power, the monopoly on truth, the monopoly on patriotism. In a climate of militancy various sides at times display proneness toward such monopolistic tendencies. Nowadays a chance for understanding and for resolving the crisis lies in that serious voices favoring the relinquishment of monopolies and the exploration of compromise solutions are heard from various sides.

The compromise must signify finding a way out of a situation in which one side views legalizing Solidarity as a condition for an accord and the other rejects that legalizing. Thus, integral talks without preconditions have to be initiated. Neither side should expect the capitulation of the other and pose an ultimatum to the other. Unfortunately, in the last few days attempts have been made to create *faits accomplis*, pressing the backs of the authorities against the wall, even before the talks would take place. I hope that these tendencies shall not dominate the atmosphere prior to the roundtable. Otherwise that would mean a fiasco of the compromise and hence a new confrontation with the surely more menacing consequences it would entail. It is only through an integral resolution of political problems based on a lasting accord of the proreform forces that solutions to particular issues, even to such an important issue as the future of Solidarity, can be found. I do not think that the talks should begin with it.

The expectations and talks are periled by the absolutism of both extremist wings. One such wing, the weaker one in my opinion, though not lacking for supporters in various elements of the apparatus of power, is ready for an "accord" only with like-minded people and desires to avoid a compromise, which it views as "selling out" ideological principles as well as imperiling its own status. The other wing, strengthened by the failures of the government's policy in recent years and encouraged by the waves of summer strikes, wants to dictate its will in the form of an ultimatum.

Those who through their stubbornness or fanaticism would nullify the opportunity for an accord that has arisen nowadays will be remembered in the historical memory of the nation in a way which I would not wish my worst enemy.

**Ministerial Reform Problems: Geodesy,
Cartography Case in Point**
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[Article by Maria Lechowicz: "The Battle in Geodesy"]

[Text] Last October the Sejm adopted the long-awaited decision to reform the national agencies, and the government eagerly began to fulfill it. One of these agencies was the Ministry of Land Use Management and Construction, which included the Main Office of Geodesy and Cartography (GUGiK). What were the duties of that office? It planned geodetic and cartographic projects of national importance and tried to obtain budget funds for conducting them in accordance with the plan, because projects of this kind were financed precisely from the state budget. In addition, it placed orders for implementing these projects and hence also allocated the necessary funds; supervised the implementation; and lastly officially accepted these projects when completed.

Could these activities be abandoned? No. For it would be senseless for, e.g., every geodetic enterprise to plot geodetic bases or produce topographic maps on its own, since these have to be uniform for the country as a whole, just as the PKP [Polish State Railroads] timetable has to be uniform and cannot be determined individually by dispatchers at every larger station. Since an overall programming of geodetic-cartographic maps of cardinal importance is needed, the logical conclusion is that all the other related activities also are needed. It was thus hard to classify the Main Office of Geodesy and Cartography among superfluous departments of the central administration.

But the name was so ugly—Main Office. It sounds so grating in the era of the second stage of the reform. The minister of land use management and construction decided late last October to shut down the GUGiK. But some other agency had to take over its duties. Therefore, the Department of Geodesy, Cartography, and Land Use Management was set up at the ministry. Of the 118 employees of the former Main Office only 18 were hired by the new Department (which incidentally is managed by the former GUGiK director Andrzej Szymczak).

Except that such a miniaturized Department could not fulfill all the duties of the disbanded Main Office.

Then the organizational shape of Polish geodesy began to be considered—it is a pity that only then rather than before the Main Office had begun to be disbanded—in order to fulfill these duties. A ministerial commission was established and it consulted the Main Board of the Association of Polish Geodeticians and the Presidium of the Federation of Trade Unions of Geodesy and Cartography Employees, but nobody thought of inviting to membership in the commission or at least consulting the enterprises and other units working in this field, that is,

the most concerned organizations. The commission concluded that it would be best to establish a new central enterprise which would take over the so-called economic (but essentially purely administrative) duties, personnel, and premises of the former Main Office. What then was the difference? In name only, except that now a middleman appeared between the project grantor and the contractor, because while previously the GUGiK directly allocated tasks to contractors, now under the new system they are to be allocated to the central enterprise which in its turn will allocate them to contractors-enterprises. The attendant difference is that the central enterprise is to charge fees for its mediating activities, since it is supposed to be a self-financing enterprise rather than a budget unit, and these fees are deducted from the budget funds earmarked for geodetic-cartographic work, but that is supposedly less important because not so obvious.

Living on Rumors

When rumors about the intention to establish the new central enterprise spread, and were followed by more certain news, the organizations whose interests this menaced became upset, and some made much ado about it, because this was to occur at their expense.

This concerned chiefly the Geodesy and Cartography Computer Center and the State Geodesy and Cartography Enterprise in Warsaw. The Computer Center was easily brought to heel by depriving it of its autonomy and subordinating it to the jurisdiction of the new central enterprise on the grounds that geodesy and cartography needed new progressive technologies which the Computer Center was incapable of developing on its own. This involved ignoring the interested parties who argued, and provided detailed proof, that the Computer Center is a prosperous enterprise whose activities largely consist in precisely developing new technologies and scoring considerable successes in this field. It was not the Computer Center that had the decisive voice here, since it was an enterprise to which the Decree on Research and Development Units applied, that is, one with limited competences of its worker self-government and hence also lacking the possibility of opposing decisions imposed from the top by its parent agency.

The Fractious Resist

The situation of the State Geodetic-Cartographic Enterprise (PPGK) was much worse. This is a normal enterprise operating on the basis of the Decree on State Enterprises and having a worker self-government with broad powers. In addition, it is a major enterprise in its field. It handles the so-called geodetic bases, that is, field exploration and plotting of a network of geodetic points which represent the basis for all geodetic and cartographic measurements; it also produces topographic maps as well as extremely accurate basic maps for the needs of the national economy, serving land use management, alleviation of natural disasters, preparation of

property documents, etc. It also produces maps by the photogrammetric method, i.e., by the aerial photosurvey method. This enterprise operates nationwide and is the leader in geodetic bases, topographic maps, and photogrammetry. Suffice it to say that last year nearly one-half of all projects of the Main Office of Geodesy and Cartography was implemented by the PPGK.

Already in the early December 1987 the worker council, the general meeting of delegates, and the basic party organization at the PPGK became worried by the plan for reorganizing the branch. The worker council and the general meeting of delegates passed resolutions expressing their anxiety about the new organizational structure planned for Polish geodesy, and especially about the plans for establishing the new central enterprise. Even earlier, on 30 November, the executive board of the basic party organization passed a resolution stating, "We are in favor of integrating the entire geodetic branch under a strong administrative department at the Ministry of Land Use Management and Construction.... The proposal to establish that central enterprise is a way of camouflaging the [restoration of the] administrative services of the former GUGiK. The executive board suggests that experts from the former GUGiK be employed in the currently operating enterprises without any need to establish new enterprises. The board passed on this resolution to the PZPR Warsaw-Downtown Borough Committee which, upon considering the matter with the aid of impartial experts, reached conclusions which are partially cited below: "The conditions for establishing a new enterprise were evaluated on the basis of incomplete data upon disregarding such criteria of the second stage of the economic reform as effectiveness and streamlined organization."

The 'Competition'

Yet on 22 December the minister of land use management and construction signed an executive order establishing a state enterprise termed National Center for Geodesy and Cartography. The order specified the following duties of the new organization: "Development and improvements of design technology, plotting and updating of geodesic bases, situational and height measurements, topographic maps, thematic maps, the basic map, and operational surveys"—that is, duties performed by the PPGK—"designing, introduction and conduct of geodetic and cartographic databanks"—also a duty of the PPGK—"management of a national geodetic and cartographic database... procurement, provision, and processing of aerial photographs"—all also operations in which the PPGK also specializes.

But perhaps it is healthy to have a competitor, and perhaps the PPGK was so opposed to the establishment of the new enterprises because, as was said at the ministry, it wanted to preserve its position as a quasi-monopolist and feared competition. Competition? But competition can come into play when the partners are provided with more or less identical chances, whereas in

this case the chances are not identical, since the executive order establishing the enterprise named the National Center specifies that its duties also include concluding agreements for all kinds of operations financed from the state budget in which the PPGK has been specializing, and allocating funds for their performance. What honest competition can come into play here considering that the National Center, which is to implement these operations itself, will decide on behalf of the government what agreements to conclude, with whom, and whom to allocate the funds and how much?

That there could be no honest competition the PPGK was soon able to ascertain. The conclusion of agreements for implementing operations was somehow and strangely delayed, and the National Center viewed the processing of aerial photographs as its own domain, although for this purpose it had to acquire expensive Western equipment such as was already owned by the PPGK, and although it lacked qualified experts for this operation, experts whom it had to "bribe" at the PPGK. It was willing only to assign field work, that least attractive of all operations. But all this could be ascertained by the PPGK only after the National Center started operating.

For the time being, when it still had not known about the decision to establish the National Center, the executive board of the basic party organization sent on 23 December to the minister a letter stating, "Comrade Minister, could you please arrange for us to meet with you and so that we may voice our position before the final decision on the shape of the geodetic services is taken?" On 28 December, one after another, two such meetings were held in the ministry's building, and they were attended not only by representatives of the executive board of the basic party organization and the borough party echelon but also by as many as two deputy prime ministers, Czesław Przewoznik and Lucjan Mieczkowski. Both meetings basically reduced to notifying "in brief, soldierly words" the representatives of the basic party organization that the decision was already taken and was final.

The Beginning of Act Two

Unfortunately, the die was cast and the organizational structure of geodesy was "reformed." Act One of the drama ended. There was a brief intermission, but when the curtain rose again, the action became particularly dramatic. A struggle for if not the life then certainly the health of the PPGK commenced, to resolve the question of whether it would remain a normally performing organism or an economic cripple. On March 11 of this year the Department of Geodesy, Cartography, and Land Use Management at the Ministry of Land Use Management and Construction sent the PPGK a letter asking that enterprise to transfer its national state geodesic-cartographic database to the recently established National Center for Geodesy and Cartography.

What is that state database? Surveys conducted while producing geodetic bases and topographic maps result in a considerable store of documents which are not discarded because they have to be repeatedly consulted in order to facilitate subsequent work. They are stored in a kind of archive termed the state database.

For years the PPGK managed that state database and lent out the needed documents on having formed a special department employing an entire staff of experts. While the PPGK may loan out these documents, in practice it utilizes itself 90 or even 95 percent of that database because of the nature of its operations. And now it was supposed to transfer the state geodesic database to the National Center and borrow from it the documents it would need. This would be more costly, since the National Center immediately announced that it would raise the fees for lending the documents. But it was the time thus lost rather than the cost that mattered most. So long as the PPGK operated the database itself, it was able to consult it immediately, whereas now its operations would be delayed until it received the documents from the other organization.

Was such a decision easy to swallow? No. No one at the PPGK agreed to it. Almost immediately the chairman of the worker council Wojciech Nowakowski composed, and the party organization conveyed through its channels, a letter to Andrzej Zor, an undersecretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers who handles central reorganization. In that letter he requested A. Zor to examine the whole issue of the reorganization of geodesy, because such "reforming" of central administration, which involves concealing old bureaucracy under the umbrella of a new enterprise, conflicts with the intentions of the government. Both the secretary of the basic party organization and the chairman of the worker council even sent a telex message, describing the importance of the problem—which may not have been too clear owing to the need for brevity—to General Jaruzelski himself.

Actions and Reactions

In the meantime the worker council began to prepare itself for the fight more realistically. It thus asked the District Chamber of Legal Advisers in Warsaw for an opinion "on whether the geodetic-cartographic documents constituting the database managed by the PPGK... are part of the enterprise's capital and, if yes, whether the instruction from the minister of land use management and construction ordering the transfer of that database to a newly established enterprise, the National Center for Geodesy and Cartography, represents interference by a parent agency conflicting with the Decree of 25 September 1981 on State Enterprises?"

The lengthy opinion issued by Attorney Zofia Rogulska states that, among other things, "On 14 February 1973 was held a conference on transferring to the enterprise the Central Geodetic-Cartographic Database managed

by the GUGiK. The minutes of the conference show that the database previously managed by the GUGiK, i.e., the documents, facilities, and personnel, were to be transferred to the PPF and PPG enterprises (which subsequently were merged into the State Geodetic-Cartographic Enterprise—M.L.). In its letter of 27 January 1974 the Office of Geodetic Administration, GUGiK, notified the PPF that, in connection with the transfer thereto on 1 January 1974 of the Central Geodetic-Cartographic Database, the related assets were transferred from the GUGiK to the PPF. The enterprise was henceforth to pay for the upkeep of the database.... The documents submitted indicate that the geodetic and cartographic database transferred to the PPGK is part of the property owned by that enterprise, and that that property was transferred to its ownership by a decision of the superior agency.... The letter of 11 March 1988 containing the request for transfer of the database is to be viewed as a proposal for its voluntary transfer, made to the PPGK by the Department of Geodesy, Cartography, and Land Use Management.... Said proposal is unacceptable in view of the interests of the enterprise, and the ministry should be notified accordingly. Article 44 of the Decree of 25 September 1981 on State Enterprises specifies, 'The parent agency may not deprive a state enterprise of any part of the assets allocated thereto or acquired thereby.' Therefore, the decision of the parent agency ordering the transfer of the database to another enterprise constitutes an unwarranted interference in the enterprise's autonomy, inconsonant with the provisions of the aforementioned Decree, and there exist grounds for objecting to this decision through the procedure prescribed in Article 61 of the Decree of 25 September 1981 on State Enterprises."

On the basis of that opinion, the worker council passed on 30 March a resolution stating, "Surrendering the geodetic-cartographic database would result in a breakup of the enterprise, to which the Worker Council at the PPGK does not grant its consent.... The Worker Council at the PPGK herewith places the enterprise's director under the obligation of discontinuing further negotiations for the transfer of the geodetic-cartographic database to the National Center for Geodesy and Cartography and notifying the Ministry of Land Use Management and Construction about the Council's position."

The parent agency was in a pickle. It did not know how to react, as could be seen from its failure to reply for nearly a month. Upon thinking it over, however, it decided to make a resolute reply, and on 28 April it instructed the director of the PPGK to transfer the database to the National Center for Geodesy and Cartography. The worker council immediately presented an objection to that decision, thus, as known, suspending its implementation. Thereupon the ministry decided to enter "upon the road of diplomacy." It sent a rather sharply worded letter signed by the Deputy Director of the Legal Department Wojciech Rzepka. We shall not quote that letter since the gobbledygook in which it is

written makes it practically impossible to understand. But its drift is that the worker council had no right to object to the ministry's decision inasmuch as the state geodetic-cartographic database is not part of the assets of the PPGK and instead is the property of the State Treasury. To be sure, Director Rzepka did not deny the fact that in 1974 the predecessor-enterprises of the PPGK accepted that database from the Main Office of Geodesy and Cartography, but, he claims, in subsequent years that Office commissioned the enterprise to perform specified geodetic-cartographic work and paid for it, and therefore it was the owner of the materials thus produced.

However, the Main Office paid for the maps or geodetic networks produced and therefore it became their owner without becoming also the owner of the materials used in producing these maps, in the same way as a high-society lady who orders a gown from a fashion dictator becomes the owner solely of that enviable garment without also owning the dressmaker's model used to sew it. However, Director Rzepka completely disagreed and therefore claimed categorically that the worker council acted unlawfully in presenting the objection.

On the other hand, the parent agency also wanted to treat the worker council with kid gloves. So Director Rzepka and Director Szymczak (the one who, we recall, directs the Department of Geodesy and Cartography) held a meeting with representatives of the worker council during which they stated that the minister's letter of 28 April was not a decision but merely a request for transferring the geodetic-cartographic database to the National Center and that therefore there was no reason for the worker council to present an objection but it could take a position on this matter in another way. This it did indeed in its resolution of 1 June, which stated, "The Worker Council may not consider this request affirmatively for reasons mentioned in its resolution of 30 March 1988."

The Blunt and the Jesuitic Tactics

This was too much for the parent agency. As recalled by Mieczyslaw Osko, a former vice chairman of the worker council, on 14 June he was summoned together with the chairman, Lech Staniszewski, to the office of Director Szymczak who, during their 6 minute meeting, informed them that the council's position was unacceptable and that he was giving it one week to take another, more proper decision.

The "dressing down" proved to be completely ineffective. In its next resolution, adopted 6 days after that meeting, the council found that it "sees no reason for changing its position."

The parent agency had other weapons in its arsenal. Director Staniszewski was summoned to the ministry and, in the course of a private conversation, asked to suspend the resolution of the worker council and transfer

the database to the National Center. But he preferred to give his reply publicly and sent to the ministry a letter, with a copy for the worker council. The letter stated, "Concerning our conversation of 28 June 1988 please be advised that there exist no legal grounds for transferring the geodetic-cartographic database.... to the newly established enterprise... in view of the provisions of Resolution No 90 of 30 March 1988 of the Worker Council.... Resolution No 90 on this matter was supported by the resolution of 13 May 1988 of the General Meeting of PPGK Delegates, so that any decision I might take contrary to the will of the workforce would be contested. I see no grounds either for refraining from the implementation of the abovementioned resolution, since it was adopted on the basis of Article 24, Point 6, Paragraph 1, of the Decree of 25 September 1981 on Workforce Self-Government at State Enterprises; therefore, Article 41, Paragraph 1, of the aforementioned decree does not apply, since I cannot accuse the Council of acting contrary to the law."

It is thus hardly surprising that Director Staniszewski is unwelcome at the ministry. He himself has no idea just how unwelcome he is. Recently there was an evaluation of executive personnel at the ministry. This writer succeeded in getting hold—parent agency personnel, please do not ask me how—of an evaluation of Director Staniszewski about which he himself was not informed. That evaluation states, among other things: "Lately he has not been effectively helping the parent agency in activities relating to a reorganization of the cartographic branch.... He links aspects of enterprise growth to the interests of the workforce but not always to general interest."

The Last Blows

On 21 July the enterprise received a letter signed by Deputy Minister Mieczkowski whose meaning could not be missed, because it stated black on white, "I instruct Citizen Director of the State Geodetic-Cartographic Enterprise to transfer to the National Center for Geodesy and Cartography the duties relating to the management of the state geodetic database and the associated documentation."

But that was not the last broadside to be fired. For the worker council immediately presented an objection to this decision, about which there can no longer be any doubt that it represents interference by the parent agency into the affairs of the enterprise. This time the matter is definitely bound to end up in a court. But perhaps, before that, somebody might look into it, because the point is not so much transferring the state geodetic-cartographic database from one enterprise to another but the validity of a reform of the geodetic branch such that the administering is concealed under the guise of productive activity and pseudocompetition is created. Perhaps the government will look into it under its emergency powers? So that, when speaking about the economic reform, we would not have to observe mordantly, "The new is reverting."

Party Activities Calendar 15 August-11 September 1988

26000075 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 19, 21 Sep 88 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 15 August-11 September 1988"]

[Text]

Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee

27-29 August. The eighth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was held. During the deliberations, two reports by the Politburo were presented: "On the Socio-economic Situation and Directions for Its Healing," presented by Wladyslaw Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and "On the Political Situation and Problems in Developing the Political System," presented by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

After extensive discussion and adoption of resolutions, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, delivered a speech.

Meetings of the Politburo of the Central Committee

16 August. The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee continued its evaluation of the implementation of the seventh plenum of the Central Committee by the voivodship party organizations.

It discussed the work of the Lublin, Poznan, and Radom party organizations; the first secretaries of the respective voivodship committees and some of the members of the Central Committee of these organizations participated.

The Politburo heard reports on summer recreation for working people, young people, and children, and on the course and current results of the harvest.

23 August. The Politburo examined the sociopolitical and economic situation of the country; it adopted the text of a letter to all party members; it decided to call the eighth plenum of the Central Committee.

24 August. The Politburo examined the plan for implementing the decisions deriving from the official visit to Poland by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Politburo pointed to the particular responsibility of young people for the future of Poland and of socialism.

30 August. The Politburo evaluated the sociopolitical situation in Poland, and evaluated the economic situation in Poland. It heard a government report on increasing and accelerating supplies for the market; it acquainted itself with the preparations for the new school year.

6 September. The Politburo evaluated the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland, with particular reference to the timely, complete implementation of the resolutions of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee and the execution of responsibility for the performance of its decisions.

The Politburo heard reports on the preparations for the 1988-89 academic year, including the intentions to improve the academic and didactic processes, the development of self-management, and the improvement of the material and academic situation for students.

Meeting of the National Defense Committee

20 August. A meeting of the National Defense Committee chaired by Gen Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, was held. The National Defense Committee evaluated the current sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland. In conjunction with the present threats, the appropriate decisions were taken.

Conferences and Meetings

19 August. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, received Nguyen Ce Thach, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam and minister of foreign affairs of the SRV, who was visiting Poland. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the talks.

29 August. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received Che Sim, member of the Politburo of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the National Assembly of Kampuchea, who was visiting Poland.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, discussed the results and significance of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee with the press councilors of the embassies accredited in Warsaw and with the press, radio and television correspondents of the socialist countries.

31 August. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, paid a visit of several hours to the Warsaw Automobile Factory, where after touring the plant, he met with representatives of the employees.

Members of the party leadership: Jozef Baryla, Zbigniew Michalek, and Kazimierz Cypryński participated in meetings with representatives of the workers and party activists.

Jozef Baryla participated in an open party meeting in the W-3 section of the Plock Harvest Machinery Plant.

Zbigniew Michalek familiarized himself with the work of the Voivodship Agricultural and Industrial Enterprise in Nisk in the Tarnobrzeg voivodship.

Kazimierz Cypryński participated in an open meeting of the basic party organization in the Fiberboard Plant in Przemyśl.

On the eve of the sixth anniversary of the death of Władysław Gomułka, his nearest family and numerous delegations, including ones of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, veterans of the workers movement, youth organizations, and factories laid flowers on his grave in the Communal Cemetery in Warsaw.

1 September. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, received Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ. They discussed the current economic situation of Poland and the participation of the trade unions in the proposed round table.

The decisions of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee, the conditions and opportunities for national reconciliation were the subject of a meeting of representatives of the party and state leadership with representatives of the workers from various regions of the country.

Władysław Baka visited the Elena Synthetic Factory in Toruń.

Marian Orzechowski met with the aktiv of the PZPR Legnica Voivodship organization.

Józef Baryla met with the employees of the Eltro Radio Plant in Bydgoszcz.

Florian Siwicki talked with the employees of the Kalisz Transportation Equipment Factory of the Polish Aviation Plants.

Zofia Stepień met with the aktiv of the women's organization in Oświęcim.

2 September. The tasks after the eighth plenum of the Central Committee were the subject of a meeting of representatives of the party and state leadership with employees of plants in various regions of the country.

Zbigniew Messner visited the Katowice Voivodship, where he met with the sociopolitical aktiv of the voivodship, and then, at the Borynia mine in Jastrzębie, with representatives of the employees of the Rybnicki Coal District.

Marian Orzechowski met with representatives of all of the mining sections of the mines of Polkowice.

Mieczysław F. Rakowski talked with a group of several hundred members of the political, state, and economic aktiv at the Szczecin Voivodship Committee.

Kazimierz Barcikowski visited the employees of the Cegielski Plant in Poznań.

Józef Baryla visited Eltra in Bydgoszcz where he participated in an open meeting of the Branch Party Organization No. 1 of which he is a member.

Alfred Miodowicz visited the Sieroszowice Mining Plant.

Zygmunt Morawski met with the aktiv of the Bawelana Cotton Industry Plant in Bielsko-Biala.

Stanisław Ciosek visited the Koszalin Voivodship where he participated in the Second Cultural Presentation of the Koszalin Villages and visited the farmers in Wardyn Górny.

Kazimierz Cypryński participated in a conference of the party aktiv in Białystok.

Gabriela Rembisz familiarized herself with the problems of the residents of the workers' hotels at the Cegielski Plant.

The socioeconomic problems and results of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee were the subject of a meeting with Władysław Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, with the PZPR lecturers. Andrzej Czyż, head of the Ideology Section of the Central Committee, presided over the meeting.

31 August. Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, met with the party aktiv of the Lublin Voivodship in Lublin. They discussed the tasks deriving from the decisions of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee. M. Orzechowski also participated in a meeting with students at the "Avant-Garde of the 21st Century" camp in Piaśń.

5 September. The Ideological Commission of the Central Committee held a meeting with the group preparing the third All-Polish Theoretical and Ideological Conference and the secretaries of the voivodship committees dealing with this problem. They discussed the theses for internal party discussion on the role and place of the party in the reforming economy and the state. Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, presided over the deliberations.

Members of the party leadership visited workers in outlying areas and listened to their opinions of the socioeconomic situation of the regions, of the plant and also on the implementation of the resolutions of the eighth plenum.

Wladyslaw Baka visited the Paris Commune Shipyards and met with economic and social activists and the party aktiv of the industrial area of the Gdansk-Port.

Jan Glowczyk visited with representatives of the Brown Coal Mine and builders of Belchatow and with the political and economic leadership of the Pioma Mining Equipment Factory in Piotrkow.

Zygmunt Muranski talked with the employees of the Andoria High Compression Engine Factory in Andrychow.

Zofia Stepien visited the Wykromet Mechanical Equipment Factory in Czestochowa.

Zbigniew Michalek visited the Opole region. He visited the Industrial Egg Production Works in Niemodlin, the Interpegro Production and Trade Plant in Chroscin Nyska, and Agromet in Brzeg, and participated in an open party meeting at the State Farm in Brzeg.

7 September. **Wojciech Jaruzelski**, first secretary of the Central Committee, met with **Ibrahim Zakaria**, secretary general of the WFTU, who was visiting Poland. Among those participating in the meeting were **Alfred Miodowicz**, member of the Politburo and chairman of the OPZZ, **Jerzy Uzieblo**, deputy chairman of the OPZZ, and **Ernest Kucza** and **Maciej Lubczynski**, heads of sections of the Central Committee.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in a reporting and consulting meeting of the members of the Warsaw Committee and the Warsaw PZPR Control and Review Commission.

Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo, visited the Nitrate Plants in Tarnow, where he participated in an open party meeting.

The problem of dialogue and national reconciliation in light of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee were the subject of the Central Committee lecturers with **Stanislaw Ciosek**, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary general of the PRON National Council.

8 September. The leadership aktiv of the publishers of TRYBUNA LUDU met with **Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski**, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. They discussed the tasks of the party press in implementing the seventh and eighth plenums of the Central Committee.

Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo, visited the workers of the Nitrate Plants in Tarnow.

Kazimierz Cypryniak, secretary of the Central Committee, met in Rzeszow with the party aktiv and lecturers of the voivodship committee and with representatives of the workers of the Rzeszow Transportation Equipment Plant.

9 September. **Jan Glowczyk**, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, visited the Wola Knitting Factory in Zdunska Wola, where he met with the aktiv of the Branch Party Organization No. 3 and the young people employed in the plant.

Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and chairman of the OPZZ, met with the trade unionists of the Rzeszow region.

Stanislaw Ciosek, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and secretary general of the PRON National Council, visited the Tepro plant in Koszalin, where at an open party meeting the sociopolitical situation of Poland in light of the resolutions of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee was discussed.

Gabriela Rembisz, candidate member of the Politburo, participated in a meeting of the activists of the League of Polish Women in Poznan.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, chairman of the Central Control and Review Commission was a guest of the railway workers at the Polish State Railways junction station in Ilawa, where they discussed the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland.

Manfred Gorywoda participated in a meeting of Branch Party Organization No. 5 at the Small Engine Automobile Factory in Tychy Voivodship.

Janusz Kubasiewicz participated in a party meeting in the Cerad Radio Ceramics Factory in Warsaw.

Boguslaw Kolodziejczak visited the employees of the Bicycle Factory in Bydgoszcz.

11 September. In Pieszew, in the Kalisz Voivodship, the harvest ceremonies were held with the participation of **Wojciech Jaruzelski**, first secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, Premier **Zbigniew Messner**, **Roman Malinowski**, president of the ZSL Main Committee and Marshall of the Sejm, and **Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak**, president of the SD Central Committee.

In the Offices and Organizations

24 August. **Gabriela Rembisz**, candidate member of the Politburo, met with the factory collective of the Automobile Tire Factory in Poznan.

30 August. The course of the deliberations of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee was the subject of a meeting of the party and union and self-management

activists and the youth organizations and management personnel of the Krakow metallurgical works with Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo and chairman of the OPZZ.

The Biala Podlaska Voivodship Committee discussed the economic and social situation in the voivodship.

1 September. The people of the Krosno area commemorated the sixth anniversary of the death of Wladyslaw Gomulka. At the museum, Wladyslaw Gomulka's family home in Krosno, groups of veterans of the workers and youth movements met. They placed wreaths of flowers in front of the commemorative plaque at school no. 14, which bears Gomulka's name.

Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the inauguration of the new school year at Elementary School No. 3 in Brzeziny in the Skierniewice Voivodship.

Zygmunt Muranski, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, participated in the ceremonies at Elementary School No. 11 in Wodzislaw Slaski.

Gabriela Rembisz, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, participated in the inauguration of the new school year at the Trade School Complex in Poznan.

Janusz Kubasiewicz, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship Committee, participated in the inauguration at the Horticulture School Complex in Warsaw.

2 September. The Jelenia Gora Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks of the offices deriving from the resolutions of the eighth plenum of the Central Committee.

The Sieradz Voivodship Committee analyzed the current socioeconomic situation in the voivodship and established tasks to be undertaken after the eighth plenum of the Central Committee.

7 September. The Poznan Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks of the party offices and organization after the eighth plenum of the Central Committee.

The Kalisz Voivodship Committee formulated recommendations and tasks deriving from the eighth plenum of the Central Committee for the voivodship party organization.

8 September. The Gorzow Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks for the voivodship party organization deriving from the eighth plenum of the Central Committee in the building of a national reconciliation and personnel policy.

10 September. The Bydgoszcz Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks in ideology and propaganda for the voivodship party organization. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the deliberations.

The Opole Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organization after the eighth plenum of the Central Committee and the circumstances and prospects for the development of physical fitness and recreation among workers.

The Suwalki Voivodship Committee evaluated the sociopolitical and economic situation in the voivodship and defined tasks in these areas.

The Szczecin Voivodship Committee evaluated the sociopolitical and economic situation in the region and discussed tasks for the party offices and organizations after the eighth plenum of the Central Committee.

The Torun Voivodship Committee devoted its deliberations to an evaluation of the implementation of the housing construction program in the voivodship. It adopted a schedule for the implementation of the resolutions of the seventh and eighth plenums of the Central Committee.

Interparty Cooperation

31 August-2 September. A working delegation of the Central Committee of the BCP visited Poland, lead by G. Stojanov, deputy head of the Foreign Policy Section of the Central Committee. At the end of its visit, Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received the delegation. Ernest Kucza, head of the Foreign Policy Section of the Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

7 September. A delegation of the Ideological Section of the PZPR Central Committee visited Hungary. Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, received the delegation.

9-11 September. A PZPR delegation lead by Jerzy Swiderski, head of the Personnel Policy Section of the PZPR Central Committee, and Czeslaw Rowinski, editor in chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, participated in the annual celebration of L'HUMANITE, the organ of the French Communist Party in Paris.

ROMANIA

Proposals to Vienna CSCE Conference Defended
27000013 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian
No 41, 6 Oct 88 pp 8-9

[Article by N. Patrascanu: "Free Cooperation, Based on the Principles of Full Equality and Sovereignty, for Achieving European Security"]

[Text] On 29 August the all-European conference of Vienna began its seventh round of negotiations, thereby entering a new stage. The conference legitimately continues to draw the attention of the European public and

the international press and other media. One can justifiably state that these important discussions, which began almost 2 years ago and continued—rather laboriously—through several stages, must now come to a positive conclusion, reflected in a substantial and balanced document that can give fresh impetus to building security and promoting cooperation in Europe, and can reaffirm Europe's special role and responsibilities for building a world of peace and equality and facilitating the free progress of all the nations.

As an active promoter of the cause of European security and of developing relations among all the states on the continent in the most varied areas of mutual interest, Romania has made a major and highly significant contribution to improving inter-European relations, securing conditions for holding the CSCE on the course of the previous decade, ensuring its progress, agreeing on a final document, and to ensuring the effective, lasting, and uniform implementation of the document's historic provisions. In that spirit, from the very beginning our country advanced various topical and valuable proposals, ideas, and initiatives at the Vienna conference, designed to stimulate mutual cooperation among the 35 participating states and to contribute to the joint resolution of some genuinely essential issues for the peace and security of the European nations. Noteworthy among them were proposals concerning increased participation and intensified efforts by all the European states to achieve nuclear disarmament; proposals to immediately begin negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe and suggestions on other aspects of disarmament; initiatives aimed at promoting and freely developing economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation, as well as cooperation in other areas, and initiatives concerning environmental protection and other topical issues. At the same time, as clear proof of a profound and unwavering interest in all the provisions of the final document and its guidelines for action, Romania presented a number of comprehensive proposals on securing fundamental human rights. Those proposals were based on the urgency and topicality of certain issues; they also highlighted the consistently humanitarian character of Romania's domestic and foreign policies.

In fact, it may be said that all of Romania's proposals in Vienna constitute a new and real contribution to the cause of European security, as well as a clear proof of the consistency with which our country pursued and continues to pursue the promotion of free and equal cooperation among all the European countries and the enhancement of Europe's role and contribution to asserting a new policy throughout the world. In this context, it appears even stranger, more unfounded, and more contrary to the criteria of correct and objective information that some circles should make malicious and tendentious statements to the effect that our country's "humanitarian" ideas and proposals, and our suggestions for ensuring basic living and working conditions for all the citizens, constituted "obstacles" to the culmination of the conference; moreover, this was said at the very same

time that, ignoring the norms and pledges that had been accepted, some delegations presented and supported proposals that clearly violate the provisions of the final document and the need to strictly observe national independence and sovereignty and not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

The salient trait of Romania's proposals in Vienna is that they are fully in accordance with the current and future needs of European security and the cause of peace, quiet, and progress for all the states on the continent. Along this line, in the area of basic human rights our country presented a number of highly topical ideas and initiatives aimed at basic aspects of the situation on the continent: the pledge, reflected in the CSCE final document, of the participating states to provide work for each citizen in keeping with his training and his physical and intellectual capabilities, so that each person can secure the material means for a civilized life, in keeping with the requirements of contemporary social progress; the pledge, reflected in the final document, of the participating states to ensure the necessary education and training for young people, so that they can carry out useful work in society and fully utilize their creative talents, and to provide jobs for young people in economic and social areas suited to their training; working out and implementing in each country programs ensuring minimal housing conditions for each family by the year 2000; a pledge by the participating states to provide jobs for women in keeping with their training and capabilities, as well as equal pay for equal work with men, and rights permitting their full and efficient participation in political and social life; a pledge by the participating countries not to encourage emigration and to stop hiring specialists from other countries, simultaneous with a pledge to cooperate in training experts in various areas in accordance with the socioeconomic needs of the less developed countries; provisions, reflected in the final document, concerning freedom of thought, conscience, and beliefs, and a pledge by the participating states to support and encourage efforts to raise the scientific and cultural level of people, especially young people, in a spirit of humanism, friendship, peace, and understanding among peoples. As can be easily perceived, these proposals—which are part and parcel of our country's view of ensuring basic human rights and the right of all the peoples to life and to a free and dignified existence—are aimed at resolving some serious social problems on the continent. The satisfactory solution of these in the participating states can significantly contribute to the progress and wellbeing of the European nations. Unemployment, for example, is a serious and urgent problem in many European countries. Consequently, ensuring work for every person, in accordance with our proposal, to provide each person with the material means necessary for a dignified and civilized life, is in complete agreement with the acute needs of the most varied social classes and strata of Europe. In the west, young people often join the ranks of the unemployed and of those unable to find work suited to their capabilities and education as soon as they finish school or graduate from

universities. Consequently, is it not natural that the final document of the Vienna conference should sanction the concern of all the participating states to ensure safe and stable living and working conditions? In the same spirit of lofty and unfaltering humanism, Romania presented proposals aimed at solving, within the broader framework of European security, additional serious social problems that have dramatic effects, such as the acute housing shortage in many European countries; the economic, social, political, and civic discriminations to which women are subjected in various countries despite their number among the world population; combating systematic brain "drain" and the luring of foreign experts to the industrialized countries, and supporting the efforts for socioeconomic progress of the less developed countries.

In advancing this type of idea and proposal, in keeping with the situation on the continent and the requirements of broad strata of the European public, Romania proceeds from its unwavering conviction that ensuring the basic human rights and capitalizing on each person's creative capabilities constitute a fundamental requirement for promoting a lasting climate of international peace and understanding. As is only natural, the achievement of these undeniably topical desiderata require the states participating in the all-European process to pledge to assume increased responsibilities and to cooperate closely to their mutual advantage. At the same time, in accordance with the "decatalogue" of principles of the final document and the democratic norms of interstate relations, the participating states are obligated to promote and strictly observe the principles of national independence and sovereignty and the right of each state to deal with its own problems in accordance with its internal conditions, its law, and its national traditions and specific traits. In the final analysis, the new, democratic norms of relations among the European states and their determination to promote a new policy in Europe and throughout the world, in keeping with the ideals of peace, security, and progress, are reflected precisely in the consistent implementation and the observance of such a code of behavior.

Faithful to its principled and consistent policy and to the values of humanism, peace, and understanding and cooperation among nations, Romania also suggested to the Vienna conference that the final document provisions referring to freedom of thought, conscience, and beliefs should also feature a pledge by the participating states to support and encourage efforts to raise the scientific and cultural level of people, particularly of young people. According to our country's concept, this means that the European countries would be expected to provide conditions in which trade unions, scientific associations, and cultural and scientific clubs can organize activities designed to contribute to molding people's scientific convictions and educating them to respect the material and cultural values of other nations, especially at a time of perennially new achievements in the area of human knowledge.

Within the context of this type of concern dealing with education and consciousness shaping, certain delegations to the Vienna conference also raised the matter of religious freedom. However, as is known, specific regulations concerning this point exist in all the participating states. In Romania, the state has provided all the necessary conditions to permit the church and religious denominations to function freely, on the basis of their statute, so that both religious beliefs and practices can be exercised freely. Such conditions are ensured and guaranteed under the Constitution and other relevant laws, as well as through the material support that the state extends for the activities of the 14 denominations active in our country. The religious denominations participate, in appropriate forms, in the country's socioeconomic activities; their representatives are elected to parliament or to other social bodies. And, as we said, similar specific regulations exist in all the states attending the conference. In view of all that, it is clear that some of the proposals presented were aimed at a regression to a bygone era and at encouraging mysticism and superstition, in total disregard of the assertion and development of scientific views of life and the world, and at including in the final document either regulations that exist in each country, or some that should be decided exclusively by each state and its religious denominations. Our country legitimately believes—and has clearly stated its position in Vienna—that the issue of freedom of thought, conscience, and beliefs cannot be limited to merely freedom of religious faith; Romania holds that several unilateral proposals made in this respect, which it will never endorse, are in fact designed to revive obsolete situations, in obvious contradiction of the level of development of society and with the gains of the scientific-technical revolution.

In the same context, we want to recall our country's consistent position in favor of establishing a genuine and real framework of international cooperation, based on truly new and democratic principles of full equality and respect for the sovereign prerogatives of each state. As has been repeatedly stressed, this means categorically rejecting any attempts by certain states to decree generally compulsory norms and to impose, through international documents, methods of intervention in matters belonging exclusively to the competence and sovereignty of each state. Each country's law is an inseparable part of its national sovereignty, a product of national wishes, aspirations, and interests. Consequently, no other state or group of states have the right or legal justification to dictate to it norms of behavior or of internal organization.

Making a special contribution to the entire process of European security and to tightening the ties between the states and nations of the continent, Romania has proceeded and consistently proceeds from the objective need for equal and sovereign cooperation based on new, democratic norms and on respect for the diversity of social systems and for each nation's right to develop freely and independently, without any foreign pressures

or interference. As President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "We must grasp the fact that European security means learning how to cooperate freely and equally and how to achieve a genuinely new policy in Europe. We must make Europe into a continent of peace and cooperation capable of exerting a strong influence in the world and of ensuring the triumph of the new policy of equality among all the nations and of a world of peace and social justice." In this spirit, our delegation to the Vienna

conference will continue to struggle, in accordance with its mandate, to bring the proceedings to a satisfactory conclusion and to permit the adoption of a substantial, balanced, and unanimously acceptable final document reflecting the basic concerns and aspirations of the European nations. Through its provisions, this document should mark a new stage on the road to building a united Europe, peace and cooperation, and the free progress of all its peoples.

POLAND

Economic Relations With GDR Discussed *26000107a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish* *26 Sep 88 p 5*

[Article by Jerzy Weber: "Polish and GDR Economic Conditions—Cooperation Fosters Teamwork"]

[Text] In the middle of October, talks will start in Berlin to work out a protocol for foreign trade next year between Poland and the German Democratic Republic. This month a mixed commission will meet in Berlin to discuss economic, scientific and technical cooperation between both countries.

As both sides announced at the recent autumn trade fair in Leipzig, they are entering these talks because they want to achieve a further increase in relations as expressed in increased trade between the two countries and closer economic and business ties.

Starting Conditions

The starting conditions for trade talks look optimistic. In the first 8 months of this year, trade between the two countries has increased by 9.5 percent over the expected figure of 6.5 percent. During the same period, Poland also exported more goods to the GDR than it imported. This trend should continue until the end of this year (33 percent of Poland's planned exports to the GDR will take place during the fourth quarter of the year) and that will help our country achieve a trade balance with the GDR. Poland presently has a trade deficit of about 85 million rubles (over a total trade value of 2.5 billion rubles) with the GDR. In sum, Polish exports to the GDR will exceed by more than 10 percent the figure projected in the trade protocol while imports from the GDR will exceed planned figures by 5.6 percent.

Most of the trade with the GDR involves machinery and industrial equipment. Poland is also offering a large amount of materials and construction services which are currently very important to the GDR's program of investment and reconstruction of its industrial plants.

Out of all that the GDR exports to our country, the traditionally most important items are equipment for our machine, textiles and printing industries, for agriculture and chemistry and an entire gamut of consumer goods. The main consumer goods imported from the GDR are rugs and carpets, furniture upholstery, sheets and textile goods, hosiery, watches, automatic washers, refrigerators, sports and camping equipment, cars and motorcycles, toys and polytechnical items.

No Lack of Problems

It would be strange if such a high level of trade did not cause any difficult problems. These problems were the main subject of a meeting of economic experts and businessmen at the Autumn Leipzig Fair and will to some extent be considered in preparations for the October talks.

Unfortunately, a traditionally recurring problem is that of spare parts for the agricultural machinery, automobiles and production machinery exported over both sides of the Oder and Neisse borders. This confirms the old saying that the shortcomings in one's own economy make themselves felt in foreign trade as well. Nevertheless, the signing of a contract at the Leipzig Fair to purchase nearly 5 million rubles worth of spare parts for passenger cars from the GDR is undoubtedly a good sign of what the coming negotiations may bring.

The issue of prices for Polish goods has become an important problem. This has had its most obvious impact in the export of green goods and therefore vegetables, fruits and their canned products. In many recent instances, buyers from the GDR were unable to accept a fairly radical increase in prices for goods offered by Polish foreign trade enterprises. At the same time, the strong increases that domestic producers have demanded the government give to subsidies of exported produce have now undermined profits.

Our partners from the GDR also did not hide their alarm at the instability of Poland's export offerings, especially where it involved products necessary to the German economy such as coke.

Plant to Plant

Regardless of the fact that both sides agree that the future and stability of our economic relations depend upon more cooperation between the different branches of industry and enterprises in both countries, the growth of such cooperation has been slow and it takes a lot of time to work out new agreements. The longer the negotiation process takes, the less actively the representatives of the plants immediately concerned participate.

A convincing example is given by the enterprises served by the Unitra Central Exchange. The most predominant form of contacts are the plant-to-plant type. The result of this is that already 50 million rubles worth of business has been negotiated instead of the planned figure of 25 million. A similar path is being taken by other exchanges such as Universal which has an opportunity to increase cooperation in the production of household appliances. To some extent, this demonstrates the scale of opportunity for developmental economic cooperation and trade with the GDR. As we have learned, other cooperative contracts have also been prepared for the electronics and chemical industries.

**Moscow Seminar: Direct Enterprise Ties Favored,
Problems Noted**

26000107c Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
29 Sep 88 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Poland-USSR—Direct Business
Contacts"]

[Text] Moscow—Polish Press Agency correspondent Slawomir Popowski writes: A 2-day meeting and seminar of the directors of Polish and Soviet industrial enterprises working in direct contact with each other has concluded in Moscow. The meeting was organized by the Polish Foreign Trade Chamber and the USSR Chamber of Business and Industry.

At the meeting it was acknowledged that the increased interest in direct contacts between Polish and Soviet firms was a positive development, but, on the other hand, there still remain many unsolved problems. Two of these are especially critical and hard to resolve, and they are inconsistency in the currency and finance systems in both countries and differences in their present pricing systems.

These two problems, which have made it difficult to increase cooperation between Polish and Soviet enterprises, are not the only shortcomings. During the meeting, the directors of Polish and Soviet firms also spoke about other shortcomings and continuing barriers, which are often organizational in character. At the meeting, methods of dealing with these difficulties and shortcomings were also discussed.

Economic Credibility Test for Authorities Offered

26000089 Warsaw *PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY* in
Polish No 40, 2 Oct 88 p 5

[Article by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "The Test: Both
Projects Promise To Abandon High One-Time Price
Increases"]

[Text] Two variants of the assumptions of the 2-Year Plan for Economic Consolidation have been announced. The Commission for Economic Policy, Economic Reform, and Worker Self-Government under the PZPR Central Committee took the position that it should be voted by the Sejm as a program document together with new special powers for the government. It is not yet clear whether this plan should supersede the 5-Year Plan or amend it. During the session of that Commission diverging views were presented. But it can be opined that all this is of complete indifference to the man on the street. In general, people are increasingly indifferent and it is difficult to wonder at their natural weariness.

Were the slogans and the verbal adornment of the party-societal variant (presented by Professor Wladyslaw Baka) to be considered alone, it might be thought that a third stage of the reform is being prepared, so to speak.

For that document often refers to changes and a turn-about in economic policy, to a new approach, new principles, the discarding of some ideas and acceptance of others, shifts in emphasis, government interventions, etc.

Against this background, the government project of the assumptions of the Consolidation Plan (presented by Professor Zdzislaw Sadowski), based chiefly on previously formulated assumptions of the Central Annual Plan, seems a static document, surely solidly prepared but devoid of new ideas.

However, careful text analysis leads to the wholly prosaic conclusion that the differences are often more in language than in specifics. For real life determines the feasibility of any plan, and real life in the economy is what anyone either knows or at least sees daily, in the store, on the street, in the factory.

Thus, the Consolidation Plan can be nothing other than a kind of a 2-year variant of implementation of the second stage of the reform, adapted to the actual situation, modified in some respects and left intact in many others. It must be admitted, however, and this was pointed out by the Commission in its written opinion, that the verbal packaging is much better than that of the party document. On the other hand, the cohesiveness of discrete solutions is weaker.

A cursory review of the document prepared by "the socioeconomic elements of the Central Committee with the participation of social teams" suffices to see that it contains much of the language and assumptions of the program for strengthening the currency which was drawn up last year by the National Bank of Poland. Recently the opinion has often been expressed that the government rejected that program and is pursuing a concept of its own. This is not consonant with the truth, and it can be seen that a majority of the specific measures proposed in the program of the National Bank of Poland has been incorporated in the program for implementing the second stage of the reform. This is merely an example indicating that treatment of economic-systemic matters has to be similar and the differences in approach concern solely certain aspects of economic policy.

However, the party's variant of the Consolidation Plan contains a major innovation compared with the program for strengthening the currency. Namely, it acknowledges the fact that relatively high inflation is bound to persist in the next few years. Under that variant, price increases next year will average 1 to 1.5 percent monthly which for the year as a whole is equal to from slightly more than 12 to 20 percent. Such would be the changes after 1 January. Including the consequences carried over from the present year, the annual inflation index would be about 32-40 percent. The two government variants provide for indices of 36 and 26 percent, respectively. Here, too, the convergence of results demonstrates that real life determines the realism of slogans for curtailing inflation.

The party's variant astutely assumes that, given a high inflation rate, the inflation index should be reckoned in monthly terms. This facilitates psychological acceptance of the fact that, even on the scale of a year, high inflation is not so dramatic if shorter periods of time are compared. Then it is also possible to approach differently—and this already is of substantive importance—the question of realistic interest rates on savings deposits and loans, as well as of realistic wage increases, procurement prices, etc. At any rate, both the government and the party documents presuppose abandoning high one-time price increases.

In institutional terms, both variants follow a similar approach to an overwhelming majority of general economic problems. They discuss curtailing investments, strengthening the currency, the need to balance the economy, to eliminate inefficient enterprises, etc. But these are commonly recognized assumptions. It appears that the variants differ somewhat in their approach to the issue of indebtedness. The government takes a quite unambiguous position on the need to normalize relations with creditors and attain an equilibrium of the current balance of payments. The party's variant admits the possibility of curtailing debt servicing if the related negotiations do not have a successful outcome. It also says little about exports and the development of contacts with the world.

Although it includes an entire chapter about the development of market relations, the party's variant seems to place somewhat more hope in operational, temporary, and administrative measures. The government's variant appears to stress the systemic approach somewhat more often. This does not seem to be due to differences in language alone. But since "systemicity" in the practice of government actions has been, let us put it this way, moderate, words themselves do not predetermine anything.

The party's variant also contains several elements, concerning both ideas and specific proposals, that are either novel or emphasized more strongly than in the government's variant. They are worth enumerating, particularly because some of them sound interesting:

- granting export-import rights to all commercial enterprises;
- shutting down the existing general construction enterprises and transferring part of their assets to foreman teams, employee teams, and private and joint stock companies;
- selling billeted and cooperative housing on convenient terms;
- selling certain state-owned assets (housing, land, stores, certain manufacturing and service establishments) on market principles; this operation should be conducted by the "State Treasury" as an autonomous institution representing state property and state interests;
- eliminating automatic wage increases from the budget;
- temporarily curtailing sickness allowances for the first few days of work disability;
- changing subsidy principles by adopting the principle of one subsidy rate per product whatever the differences in the prices of that product among different producers;
- temporarily blocking part of the development funds of enterprises;
- permitting the issuance of and free trade in stocks and bonds, along with the issuance of Treasury securities and expansion of the production of numismatic coins;
- abolishing rights to demand "foreign-exchange percentages";
- granting a medium-term (6-7 years) domestic hard-currency loan (at a higher interest rate than that paid by the PKO Bank, Ltd.);
- revising the labor law code provisions restricting the possibilities for discharging relatively unproductive employees and adapting the scale of employment to actual needs;
- legally abolishing, as of 1 January 1989, all intermediate elements and structures; retaining them would require instituting "justification proceedings" before the Party-Government Commission for Reviewing and Modernizing the Economy and the State;
- concluding a new "social contract" on a quid pro quo basis; the matter should be considered during the roundtable talks [with Solidarity].

Generally, however, the ideas and solutions in both variants are, in the nature of things, similar. In many places it can be seen, besides, that the framers of the party-societal variant had directly availed themselves of previously published government documents. It could not be otherwise, anyhow. The directions of the second stage of the reform are sufficiently general and sensible, so that it would be difficult to work out an alternative program. Besides, even if this were possible, it could not be done within a few weeks. Haste in writing the party's variant is evident, besides. For example, it mentions two possible approaches to restructuring the wage mechanism, but it describes only one, without referring to the

nature of the other. Elsewhere in that variant it seems that two detailed pages were inserted from a program for investments in energy, fuel, etc., conservation that is of doubtful quality.

The Commission's written opinion, as published in the press, is clearly based on the language of the party's variant. This does not mean that this variant will be followed. Essentially, there has to be a fusion of both programs, such being their nature. Further work on the Consolidation Plan is to be carried out in 2 weeks by taskforces of the Commission for Economic Policy, Economic Reform, and Worker Self-Government under the PZPR Central Committees. It is difficult to say at present what will happen after that. Of a certainty, this program must be discussed in October during the roundtable meeting, as well as at a session of the PZPR Central Committee, and it has to be conveyed to the Sejm for approval not later than by November. There will be little time left, anyway, for drafting the Budget Decree and the credit plan, which must allow for concrete choices in prices-incomes, credit, investment, and payment policies rather than for slogans and ideas.

Besides, there still remains a large number of important unknowns. After all, the Sejm is considering the highly important draft decree on undertaking economic activity [free enterprise]. Following automatic revisions by the government, this draft decree incorporates many but not all of the pertinent critical suggestions. In particular, the employment limit at private enterprises was retained and general principles of taxation were not introduced. Even earlier, owing to outside pressures, the authors of the draft decree had to exclude the issue of the status of crafts industries, which is up for separate consideration. The question arises whether in the new conditions the draft decree will be accepted or whether a new decree will be drafted. The time factor is exceptionally important, for this concerns a decree that is fundamental from the standpoint of economic liberties.

But the public is much less interested in plans, projects, and discussions than in concrete measures. To persons interested in the course of economic processes and the changes in economics, organization, management, structures, and mechanisms, several problems constitute a test of the credibility of slogans and programs. Suffice it to consider what will happen within a few months in the domain of investments, prices, intermediate structures, credit, property relations, monopolies, economic liberties, and the budget, in order to determine whether we are dealing with some genuine turnabout in economic policy, with an authentic rather than shammed determination, or once again with isolated, inconsistent, and sluggish changes. It is possible to make up a list of particular indicators and numerical parameters composing an indicator of the radicality of changes.

To the average citizen, to broad segments of the society, the barrier to perceiving changes is very tall. People are extremely weary, apathetic, and mistrustful. According

to recent CBOS [Public Opinion Survey Center] polls, trust in practically every institution of public life has declined. Several weeks ago, according to the press, 38 percent of the respondents to a poll declared their trust in the government and 28 percent in the party; these are the lowest indicators yet in many years. In the domain of politics the credibility test of the authorities will be the results of the "round table" and the scope of changes in the political system. In the economic domain, broad segments of the society await, above all:

—an alleviation of the vexations of quotidian life, and especially fuller store shelves;

—a marked reduction of inflation;

—improvements in living standards and higher wages.

The reality restricts these possibilities and a fairly rapid satisfaction of all three expectations is practically infeasible. Incomes and wages must not grow more rapidly than the supply of goods and services, and here improvements are possible only on a limited scale. The damping of inflation is complicating wage movements and the balancing of the economy. In its turn, a rapid restoration of the economic equilibrium solely by means of organizational measures and improved supply also will not produce spectacular results.

Prices-incomes-economic equilibrium. Even the best programs in the world cannot disentangle this triangle overnight.

Ruble Exchange Account Draft Regulations Discussed

26000063a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
2 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Dr Janusz Kaczurba, under secretary of state, Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, by Tomasz Bartoszewicz]

[Text] Recently the Council of Ministers Committee on the Implementation of Economic Reform considered a draft of the regulations governing foreign exchange allowances in virtue of exports to the first (nonconvertible currencies) payments zone and accepted the proposals contained therein which had been prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. In connection with this, a RZECZPOSPOLITA journalist requested an interview with the undersecretary of state in this ministry, Dr Janusz Kaczurba.

[Question] Mr Minister, every instrument of economic policy should serve a specific purpose. What is this purpose in the case of ruble exchange allowances?

[Answer] As the initiators of this instrument, we want to create an incentive for export to zone I countries. Also, it is our concern that the operating rules in all areas of foreign trade activity gradually become more similar and even, insofar as possible, identical.

[Question] What assumptions have been made in the construction of the system of foreign exchange allowances in transferable rubles?

[Answer] The goal is to directly link export to zone I countries with material and financial assistance to enterprises. Up to now, there has been no such linkage.

[Question] But could not this have been achieved in the experimental system of ruble allowances?

[Answer] I understand this skepticism. It stems from an automatic association of the proposals now prepared with what has been termed an experiment. But we must remember that the experimental system, in its assumption, pertained mainly to the method of creating resources. However, how these resources are expended on a larger scale was not foreseen. As a result, several hundred million rubles was entered into the accounts of the enterprises in which this experiment was conducted, while the expenditures were minimal and mainly of a nonproductive nature.

[Question] On what were the rubles from the allowances in the experimental system spent?

[Answer] Mainly on business travel of the technical and engineering staff in the production enterprises, and also for the purchase of job-related publications.

[Question] But it was the assumption of the experimental system of the ruble exchange accounts that they would enable their owners to import machines and equipment from zone I countries.

[Answer] Yes, but it was immediately stated that this pertains only to purchases which are not subject to quota restrictions. Due to the restrictions in the CEMA system, in practice this provision was meaningless.

[Question] In that case, what will this new system consist of?

[Answer] I am talking about the assumptions which are still in the process of being coordinated. But I think that the basic solutions, accepted by the Committee on Implementation of Economic Reform, should be regarded as the core of the future system. Above all, the system of ruble allowances is to be universal. We envisage uniform rates of allowances for all goods and producers.

[Question] Will these be property accounts?

[Answer] In the first year of the new system's functioning, the allowances will be of an informational character. It is important that we gain experience. Nor will I hide the fact that we also have another purpose. Under the present conditions for the purchase of rubles, the moment they were entered into the account they could become an enormous financial burden to the enterprises.

[Question] On what can the money be spent?

[Answer] There are two possibilities. First, in the plan for import from zone I countries, certain goods will be eliminated, mainly means of production, and particularly the machines and equipment which will be sold specifically for transferable rubles accumulated in accounts. Second, some of the rubles can be designated for the purchase of free foreign exchange, indispensable for the financing of export production, intended for zone I countries. This foreign exchange is now subject to administrative allocation procedures, to a large degree of a discretionary nature.

[Question] Does this mean that rubles cannot be spent for purposes which have already been permitted in the experimental system?

[Answer] Precisely the contrary. Even greater use of them will be allowed. It will be possible to designate them for business travel without the present restrictions, and it will also be possible to use them to finance certain social needs of the workforces, similar to what is in effect in the foreign exchange allowance accounts.

[Question] Can the system of ruble allowances be regarded as a step in the direction of new solutions in the settlement of accounts between CEMA states?

[Answer] The circumstance which suggests that this will happen is certainly the fact that other CEMA states, including the USSR, are working on similar solutions. Anyway, in CEMA itself, the relaxation of the rigid rules and restrictions is now being discussed. What is of primary importance is that the setting of quotas on turnovers by both sides and accounts-settlement balancing be discontinued.

[Question] But until the partners accept the new solutions, we must apply a kind of stopgap.

[Answer] Certainly the present concept of ruble allowance accounts is limited. The ideal system would be a full counterpart to foreign exchange allowances, or at least an "S" account.

[Question] Well, good, but what happens to the funds accumulated in the experimental accounts?

[Answer] According to the accepted assumptions, these funds should be managed according to the new rules. It is difficult for me to give details right now, since several

hundred million rubles are being discussed, but we intend to ultimately put all of these funds at the disposal of the owners of the present accounts.

[Question] And one last question. When will the new system go into effect?

[Answer] We envisage as of 1 January 1989. In the next few weeks the Council of Ministers should pass the applicable resolution.

Positive Correlation Between Competition, Export Growth Viewed

26000085 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in
Polish No 39, 25 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by Wacław Maszewski: "Polish-Polish Competition"]

[Text] The constant discussions on the subject of the organizational structure of Polish foreign trade and the criticism of Polish-Polish competition in the area of foreign exchange, proves that the old ghost of monopoly is still hovering over Poland and haunting it. However, the defenders of the old order perceive only negative effects of Polish-Polish competition, mainly in the field of prices and the economic losses which seem to ensue therefrom, which the State Treasury will have to pay for. Meanwhile, real trade without competition does not exist, therefore in our discussions we must explain to ourselves whether it is our goal to create the conditions for trading on the world market or whether we will merely pretend that we are trading.

A False Argument

It is understandable that the advocates of monopoly would direct the discussion towards the question of prices in export, because really this is the only argument, that is, the optimization of export through prices, which makes a case for monopoly. This is a theoretical argument, for in practice, the optimization of export through prices does not occur, with certain exceptions, which only confirm the rule. These exceptions may include those cases where we are dealing with a "sellers' market," meaning that we have the best goods, for which demand exceeds supply, therefore the goods have no competition. Here a monopoly may be useful, but how many such goods in Poland do we have to offer in the field of industrial products? Probably none.

There are at least a few, if not several, factors which affect the level of prices obtained, and some of them do not depend on the seller. Therefore, both monopoly and competition have an equal chance in the area of prices. Even if the same goods are sold to different buyers at different prices, e.g., for 100, 95 or 90 contractual currency units, that does not mean that the transactions for 95 and 90 are improper and that we will incur a loss by virtue of this, for all in all, we have an almost three-way export. On the other hand, under a monopoly

we would not reach the two remaining buyers at all. Because the size of export is determined not just by price but also by volume of goods and services, competition is the best solution—it takes both these parameters into account, on condition that the producers' and contractors' cost and price figures are explicitly stated and that the system of allowances and subsidies to non-profitable producers is not distorted. Without this, it is hard to talk about a correct economy.

It is obvious, therefore, that in order to stimulate export, and of highly processed products at that, competition is indispensable. And the competition should be mainly among producers, who would also be exporters. Competition among intermediaries is also necessary, and this can occur only in the case of a consistently conducted demonopolization of foreign trade.

Competition does not have to lead to an automatic reduction in the level of prices obtained and "impairment of the market," as the advocates of monopoly are suggesting and trying to prove. Simply the contrary. There are many cases that are precisely the opposite. Thanks to the competitive activity of newly licensed enterprises, Polonia companies and cooperatives, high prices have been obtained and better contract terms have been negotiated than the experienced and "old" offices have been able to get. Nor is it an accident that those sectors and branches have shown the highest growth of export in which the most foreign-trade licenses have been granted and where the domestic market is most demonopolized, that is, agriculture, construction-assembly services, and crafts. For example, in 1987, with an average increase in export to the second (convertible currencies) payments zone amounting to 4.7 percent, farm-food export rose over 12 percent, crafts over 20 percent, and construction-assembly services over 30 percent. It is also characteristic that in looking at this problem from the point of the sales markets, the highest growth in Polish export could be observed precisely where the mutual competition of Polish enterprises is the largest, e.g., on the FRG market, or the Austrian market. Last year export to those countries rose by over 15 percent, which demonstrates the positive activity of Polish-Polish competition even more clearly.

In industry, where breakup of monopoly is the most difficult and where the licenses granted usually carry with them a number of restrictions, both as regards assortment and as regards sales markets, we see the first signs of the positive effects of competition; for example, the dynamically developing export of diesel power plants or of staple household goods. But it is a long way to a breakthrough in export, and Polish-Polish competition in industry has not yet pierced its way out and is still in the embryo stage.

Effects of Monopoly

Monopoly, that is, the inability to confront and apply objective criteria of evaluation, leads to ossification of structures, self-preservation stances, and deprives trade

of the most important traits which determine success in the obtainment of orders from foreign clients: aggressiveness and efficiency in the area of marketing and acquisition, flexibility in contract negotiations, and justified risk taking during the performance of contracts.

Monopoly has shaped a specific philosophy of the behavior and attitudes of some foreign-trade employees, which ensues from the simple fact that so far, no one has suffered the consequences if a potential, or even far-advanced contract was not signed. However, many have been punished and have had to change jobs because they entered into contracts in which deviations were found from the provisions which had been recommended or ordered.

Monopoly lessens, in a very basic way, the chances of obtaining orders in cases where decisions are made on the basis of the results of international bidding. When this happens we have only one chance, because only one Polish firm is taken into account, while several bidders take part from other countries, and the ability to obtain a contract for the country from which its potential implementors come, grows proportionally to the number of firms participating in the bidding. Because this pertains mainly to contracts for investment goods, construction jobs and complete facilities, whose value sometimes reaches billions of dollars, the losses suffered because of failure to win a bid due to monopoly are correspondingly high.

When costs are not calculated correctly, an extremely expensive and unnecessary technology is employed, or the plans accepted go too far out into the future, which can always happen, we automatically become uncompetitive and drop out of the bidding because our offer price is too high.

Under a monopoly it is very difficult to correct errors which ensue from assumptions made before the contract was signed and which relate to the unfavorable tendencies which often appear during the performance of the contract. A monopolist does not want to admit that he has made a mistake.

Experience shows that there are many aspects in Polish foreign trade which stem from the very essence and concept of a monopoly, and they should be eliminated. This can only occur under conditions of Polish-Polish competition, that is, demonopolization of both the foreign-trade area itself, as well as producers.

Rational Freedom

There can be no talk of Polish-Polish competition without talking about the object of this competition, that is, goods and services. Application of a uniform plan is not the best solution. But it seems that acceptance of the rule that the number of competing individuals or organizations authorized to conduct foreign operations must be in inverse proportion to the degree of the difficulty of the

transaction and the degree of product processing, is understandable. In other words, for simple processed products, semifinished coproduction products, and all types of services, competition must be theoretically unlimited, which, in practice, would mean that everyone who wants to should have the right to conduct foreign-trade operations in relation to his own products and services. A relatively wide range of Polish-Polish competition should apply to general-use industrial products, textiles, farm-food articles, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, furniture, toys, accessories, and other mass consumption goods, due to their ability to reach even the retail buyer. Competition should be narrowed for luxury goods, household equipment, automotive equipment, investment assets and complete facilities, in view of the fact that the purchasers of these items are primarily wholesalers, various kinds of intermediaries, and state institutions. But in any case, at least two or three trade and industrial organizations, in addition to the immediate producers or contractors, should be given the right to conduct foreign trade. At the very peak of the pyramid which would be thus formed, would be the organizations which sell the exchange commodities, the basic raw materials and minerals, and electric energy. The foreign trade organized in this manner would create a multilevel system of ties between the Polish economy and foreign countries and would open a passage for the flow of the goods themselves, as well as the technology, organization, licenses, and what is most important, the foreign exchange, which is as vital to us as the air we breathe.

The basic element in the new system of the foreign trade organization would be the producer himself and the services contractor, whose activities in foreign trade would be directed mainly at the development of industrial production in the area of the product manufactured by him. Here no intermediary or subsector monopolist will replace the direct contractor, and the belief that he will negotiate and sign a better contract at a higher price than the person or organization directly involved is without basis and unrealistic. In industrial coproduction, the elements dealing with the contractor, more than those dealing with the product, are the most important, that is, technologies, work organization, costs (even broken down to the individual jobs), finally the qualifications of the workforce and interpersonal relationships. Nor need there be any concern about spending foreign exchange for trips abroad, for nonproduction purposes, for example, acquisition or promotion of exports. If these costs are calculated into the total costs, at the current exchange rate—for example, open market—and will affect the profit of the enterprise and the bonuses of the workforce and the management, then we will have made a breakthrough in the efficiency of utilization of this money. The workforce itself, and the workers' self-management, will be the best controller of the effectiveness and advisability of these trips, much better than the foreign-trade offices now are.

Honor Code

It is understandable that the functioning of foreign trade under conditions of Polish-Polish competition, in order that it be effective and not become a "free American," should be organized on the basis of specific principles. First of all, a set of regulations should be drawn up, of a Foreign-Trade Code nature, in which practices banned in the activities of Polish competitors on foreign markets would be defined. The point is to eliminate dishonest competition, the so-called blows below the belt, and the possibility that "intramural" fighting between foreign clients doing business with Polish organizations will be harmful to the interests of the Polish side. The persons and organizations responsible for the conduct of dishonest competition should suffer legal and financial consequences. The Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade or another specially appointed organ would be responsible and would oversee the observance of the Foreign Trade Code.

There are enough means and methods to keep competition in line and eliminate the dishonest and damaging elements in it, and they are known throughout the world. There is no reason to believe that they will not function effectively in our country if they are enforced with complete consistency. But in no case should price competition be identified with dishonest competition and its elimination. Its very essence is price diversity, which must ensue from differences in quality, that is, the applied technologies and materials and the level and correctness of the particular bid-tenderer's work organization.

Price competition is a normal and positive phenomenon and this will become especially evident and obvious to everyone if the announced changes in the financial and tax system are made. Changes which will reward, and not punish, for good work and for the technical progress being made. Changes which will eliminate, once and for all, the supplements granted, by discretion, to unprofitable enterprises and intermediate organizations which have clout. Administrative interference in activities of Polish enterprises on foreign markets in the form of "subsector commissions" or working groups organized informally, whose purpose is to "coordinate" actions and divide the market between Polish bid tenderers, thus preventing the presumed "dishonest price competition," is detrimental.

In practice, before such a commission decides which Polish exporter should make an offer, a foreign firm receives the contract, following the well-known rule that "where two are fighting, the third wins," because time is the deciding factor in such cases.

Company or Monopoly?

In the organization of production and services in Poland, the practice of forming trading and production companies in which a few dozen partners have a share, arouses some specific doubts.

As generally known, a company is formed for the achievement of some kind of common, but concrete, goal, which is mostly profit. Or, when the particular partners do not individually have enough money, to start a business which brings income. Experience has shown that the fewer partners in a company, the better it works. But can the interests of the partners in a company be compatible if, for example, there are 100 of them and each one's share is less than 1 percent of the founding capital? Undoubtedly, those who oppose the formation of such companies, believing that in practice they will transform themselves anew into monopolistic structures, centrally managed by a board, but simply called companies, will be found to be correct. If this were to happen, mainly the minister of finance and the State Treasury would suffer, because the State would not receive as much money in the form of taxes as it could receive under actual Polish-Polish competition. Competition in a natural way, and not through compulsion, creates the conditions for enterprise, technical and organizational progress, encourages risk taking, reduces costs, and improves the work quality of all of the people involved, so as to stay afloat and find buyers for all of their goods on the local market and abroad. And this is reflected in increased sales, profits and the amount of taxes paid to the State.

There is no escaping competition. It exists on the world market and it would be well for us to learn it through Polish-Polish competition, thus gaining the necessary experience, rather than lose out on the bidding and seeing the orders go to foreign competitors because of psychological and organizational barriers.

ROMANIA

Better Utilization of Investment Funds Urged
27000008 Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian
25 Sep 88 p 15-17

[Article by Florin Olteanu: "Efficient Use of Investment Funds"]

[Text] The successful execution of the Romanian Communist Party Program's fundamental objectives to build a multilaterally developed socialist society is based upon a broad program of investments designed to ensure the continuous growth and modernization of production forces, to build a highly efficient economy, and to provide for the material and intellectual well-being of all the people.

The sustained development of the national economy, delineated by decisions of the party's 13th Congress and National Conference, is directly conditional to the allocation of a major portion of the national income to reinvestment. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his April Theses, "The continuous growth of the national wealth, especially of fixed assets, based on the latest advances of science and technology and the equitable allocation of the national income, is the only way to

bring our country to new heights of progress and civilization, to continually improve the material and intellectual well-being of all the people, and to strengthen Romania's independence and sovereignty."

Experience has proven the correctness of our party's policy—firmly promoted in the years following the 9th Congress—of ensuring a high rate of accumulation, not simply because this did not have a negative impact on consumption; but much more than that, because it laid a firm base for the continuous growth of consumption funds and hence a growth in the standard of living for all our people.

Thus in the last two decades, approximately a third of the national income has been allocated for accumulation. This has permitted an increase of investment potential as well as the development of the technical and material base necessary for socialist reproduction on a large scale and for the continuous progress of the economy, science, learning, and culture. The investments, which represent the principal destined for the national fund for socioeconomic development, have played and will continue to play the role of an element that multiplies the efforts of society toward progress and well-being. At the same time, they represent a basic coordinate for accelerating the rate of economic growth. Because there has been a considerable amount of goods and capital allocated for investment, the Romanian economy has undergone a rapid rate of growth in this period.

Of course, the concept of economic growth must be associated with the process of bringing on line and efficiently using material, financial, and human resources, and melding these with other production factors to ensure a sustained increase in per capita national income. This allows for the maximum satisfaction of demands—based on scientific principles—for goods and services for the people while at the same time allowing the increase of economic potential and ensuring a dynamic balance and the maximum improvement in the structure of the national economy.

Investments not only support economic growth but allow the full utilization of labor resources and the wide scale implementation of technical and scientific progress in all areas of economic and social life.

Investments respond to objective social and economic needs of great importance for the general progress of the country. They have a determinant role in the harmonious and balanced economic and social development of all regions and localities in the nation. The judicious deployment of production forces throughout the country ensures a much more equal level of work, living, and cultural standards for all of Romania and for elevating all areas to new levels of progress and civilization.

Raising economic growth indices requires a wide-scale program of investments. And implementing this program of investments increases social production and the national income and thus the national development fund, which has a positive influence on accelerating the process of economic growth.

The link between investments and economic growth can be demonstrated in a number of different ways. First of all, investment decisions carry with them a high level of responsibility given the irreversible nature of expenditures due to the material, financial, and human resources engaged and their implications for other sectors of the economy. Of course, the fact that investments are irreversible does not mean that they are unrecoverable. Quite the contrary, investments are and must be recovered in as short a period as possible. Secondly, the increasingly rapid evolution of science and technology leads to accelerated depreciation of fixed production assets that are brought on line, necessitating the correct evaluation of the implications of technical advances in the investment process. This correct evaluation represents an accelerating factor in economic growth.

The level of investment efforts in our country over the past 20 years is eloquently expressed by the fact that its volume, on the average of 150 billion lei a year, has during this period been eight times the average of the preceding 20 years. Furthermore, the orientation of over 80 percent of this investment to the material production branches of the economy has allowed the realization of an economic potential based on fixed assets of over 3.2 trillion lei, of which 2.5 trillion are fixed production assets. Another exceptionally revealing statistic is that approximately 30 percent of today's fixed assets in our national economy were put into production during the last two decades. This illustrates the rapid process of outfitting various branches of the economy with modern equipment and the high technical level of the machines, equipment, and installations that a majority of Romanian enterprises have at their disposal.

Continuing this policy of a high rate of accumulation in the current 1986-90 5-year plan, over 1.2 trillion lei have been allocated for investments, of which, in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, 500 billion lei have been invested and approximately 450 new production facilities brought on line.

One of the characteristics of emphasizing the intensive development of our national economy is the pronounced trend toward higher efficiency in all economic activity. As with all other sectors of activity, one basic goal in investments is to substantially increase economic efficiency—the determinant element in increasing economic impact for each unit of investment. This requirement is determined, in principle, by the fact that the amount of investment in the national economy is limited by the rate of accumulation—given a certain national income and a stable policy for the amortization of productive fixed assets—and the only way to intensify

the contribution of investment toward accelerating economic growth is to use each leu invested in the national economy with maximum efficiency.

In fact, the experience of modern productive activity has demonstrated that the force and vigor of an economy is not only measured by the volume and quality of production methods established and available, but even more by the capacity of these methods to ensure the superior use of the society's material and labor resources. It is no accident then, that in the process of multilateral economic growth, the demand for the qualitative and intensive development of the economy has been clearly articulated and has become a constant in party policy.

In keeping with 13th Party Congress and National Conference decisions, investment activity is firmly directed toward modernization programs, toward providing new high technology tools and equipment to our industries, and thus there is a substantially reduced share for construction in overall investments.

This orientation has given the 1986-90 5-year plan qualitatively new characteristics which distinguish it from all economic and social evolution to date. Its principal goal is the achievement of intensive growth. This now represents for us one of the principal guideposts for raising Romania to new levels of civilization and progress.

In the present 5-year plan, new investments in industry are destined, above all, toward modernization and retooling which ensures better planning, integration, and specialization in production. At the same time, investments for modernization and retooling are designed to improve technology and reduce consumption of energy and materials per item produced. Toward this end, party documents underscore the need to reduce material consumption and to meet consumption norms in all areas of activity including the design of new technologies to continue to reduce material consumption.

The evolution of contemporary science and technology and of raw material and material resources necessitates that the design and construction of production capacities promote modern technological solutions with high economic output and reduced material and energy consumption. Of great importance in achieving maximum economic efficiency in investments is orienting these investments toward restructuring and modernizing the technologies of industries that are large consumers of energy and raw materials. Given the shortage and growing cost of conventional energy resources, a commitment to finding low energy consumption technologies is a fundamental condition for achieving greatest progress.

Given the crisis in energy and raw materials, the demands for developing the Romanian economy has mandated increased geological prospecting, sustained development of the mining industries, the full use of national mineral resources including those of lower

useful content, and the modification of energy source ratios to favor solid fuels, especially coal. Investment efforts have been aimed and will continue to be directed toward a substantial increase in lignite and bituminous shale production and toward coal-fired electrical production. These guidelines are realized in the current 5-year plan by the creation of new production capacities in the mining industry in order to exploit new reserves of useful minerals and energy resources. This is an essential condition for the harmonious, dynamic and balanced development of the national economy.

Achieving overwhelmingly intensive economic growth through modernization of existing production capacities does not, of course, exclude creating new production capacities. What is essential is that intensive factors be at the forefront, and that from the start, new undertakings be outfitted with the most advanced equipment based on state-of-the-art technology, and that they be less energy intensive, with reduced raw and other material consumption. This ensures the production of highest quality, competitive goods for the world market. Similarly, it is necessary that the work force of these new economic units be highly trained so that these new units can achieve planned technical and economic parameters as soon as possible and function, qualitatively and quantitatively, at maximum capacity.

Close attention to the goals for innovation and national economic development in the 1986-90 5-year plan uncovers two distinct directions where investment aims to reach the maximum potential through intensive development. On the one hand, modernization is increasingly an all-encompassing process aimed at all branches of the economy. At the same time, the emphasis is on high technology and achieving, through the investment process, structural changes that enhance the predominantly intensive character of increased economic growth.

Keeping in mind that in developing the national economy on an intensive basis and in ensuring increased economic efficiency, science and technology play a dominant role, as does the rapid and resolute introduction into production of the results of research and of the latest advances of modern science and technology, investment programs are aimed at increased technical and qualitative levels of production. They seek an increase in the percentage of world-class high performance products, an acceleration of automation, electrification, and robotization, a more rapid increase in economic efficiency, the modernization of material production facilities, a reduction in production costs and in the consumption of raw materials, fuels, and energy and the intensive use of fixed assets.

Investment programs are designed so that through the process of modernizing the technical and material base, there be the full use of the technical, material and human potential in our economy; that there be profound technical and technological changes to achieve important increases in production and economic efficiency. Of

particular importance in this regard is the development of microelectronics and electronics overall, the introduction of the latest advances in electronics into as many areas as possible, as well as the increased production of new materials and alloys with specialized characteristics. Through the investment program, aimed at modernizing and retooling the existing technical and material base through the application of high technology, we seek to create a symbiotic relationship between electronics and mechanics to set the stage for a new technical and scientific revolution. Only in this way will it be possible to increase construction of machinery with mechanical and computer-based functions that will produce the desired results.

One of the fundamental issues that must be resolved to attain the maximum economic efficiency of investments is strict adherence to efficiency indicators contained in the technical and economic documentation for new objectives and in other areas of investment, and to efficiency norms that have been approved for each section and subsection of the economy, established for the periods in which the new capacities are to come on line. In this regard, the reduction of the percentage of funds set aside for construction out of the entire investment budget is of particular importance in the efficient use of production funds. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "all measures must be taken to eliminate certain retrograde tendencies which appear in various areas of consuming material and financial means for the construction of offices and other spaces, halls etc., which we really do not need and which come at the expense of providing for high technology tools and machinery."

Such construction still consumes a large percentage of total investments—it is costly, it drags out the time necessary to complete the objective, it raises production costs in a totally unjustified way because of amortization expenses and the attendant repair and maintenance costs. The tendencies to overbuild and to construct new spaces when there is sufficient room now for new equipment must be combated resolutely because they negatively affect efficiency both during the investment and the production phases.

In certain projects, space continues to be set aside "for contingency purposes." This process reflects insufficient understanding of all data regarding the flowsheets and clearance requirements of the equipment that is to be installed.

Reducing construction costs also implies replacing materials which are large energy consumers with cheaper materials obtained from raw materials available within our country.

Design is important to obtaining the maximum efficiency from investment resources. On the quality of the documentation, on its completeness and correctness without omissions or erroneous data, and its performance in a timely fashion, depends the smooth progress

of construction. It is essential to placing the entity on line and on time or even ahead of schedule, and especially, to obtaining on time the economic and financial results anticipated.

Increased efficiency is indissolubly linked to the preparation of complex designs based on integrated proposals and rigorous documentation concerning the technical and technological solutions that are to be implemented and which must reflect to the peak of technology. The design quality is the principal criterion for evaluating the planners' work because losses associated with insufficient planning represent more than just an extension of the design process. Putting an objective on line on time or even ahead of schedule, shortening the period for technical testing or for bringing the objective up to full production is absolutely dependent upon the quality of the designs produced, and the adoption of solutions that are constructive, technologically and economically rational, and efficient. To this end, it is exceptionally important to use advanced technology, inexpensive, easy, and functional construction methods, widespread use of prototypes, and to determine the size of new production capacities keeping in mind spaces already in use, in order to reuse existing documentation.

Intensifying the effort to design typical sections and details and using these standard designs more frequently is an extremely valuable way to realize important savings in design time, money, and effort. At the same time, the preparation of certain design and implementation materials by the construction enterprises, that is by those who will put design into practice, is a measure, which firmly applied, allows, along with reduced workload on the design institutes, faster solutions to problems which appear during construction as well as better use of draftsmen.

Improved efficiency of the investment process is directly linked to the maximum concentration of forces on the full design and on timely delivery of technical and economic documentation. In the spirit of the stipulations in the Investment Law, on time delivery of technical and economic documentation is primary to preparing the groundwork for beginning work.

Given the stipulations of the new economic and financial mechanism, increased efficiency in investment activity puts great demands on the beneficiaries of every investment undertaking. The beneficiary's responsibility is to be exceptionally careful with the allocated investment funds. The role of the beneficiary is particularly important since the new undertaking will become his responsibility. Hence the beneficiary must constantly strive to raise the quality of activities during the entire investment process. In order to ensure the more active participation of the beneficiary during the implementation of the investment program, it has been decided that a much larger amount of work undertaken in economic

enterprises, especially that of modernization, extension, and development of existing production capacities, will be performed under the beneficiary's supervision.

One premise for increased efficiency of investments is to better space out bringing new production capacities on line. As practical experience has taught us, the tendency to delay the beginning of work and to concentrate it toward year's end creates a surge of demand for materials and installation work and hence the need for a greater number of specialized workers—demands that cannot always be met. More than ever before, this tendency is a brake against achieving the optimum level of economic efficiency.

Where, in the investment process, the time factor has a direct impact on economic efficiency, the period needed to execute the investment has great economic implications. To the extent that the time to execute this work is shortened, and hence placement of the objective into production is accelerated, along with early achievement of planned technical and economic parameters, then economic efficiency is increased by bringing planned production on line earlier, by shortening the period during which resources set aside to do this are frozen, and by achieving increased accumulation.

It is obvious that the investment process objectively and temporarily removes certain material, financial, and human resources from the economic flow. Any delay or extension of the planning period for realizing investments automatically immobilizes funds, which has the most negative effects on the economy. It happens sometimes that there is a great gap between the completion of investments and their being put into production; a gap that is reflected in costs above planned levels of investments, including losses in production and accumulation.

At the RCP C.C. Political Executive Committee session of 3 August 1988, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu severely criticized the irresponsible manner in which investment worksites performed this year. At the session, the party's secretary general pointed out that because of poorly organized labor at the worksites of certain industrial

undertakings, great quantities of equipment remain in storage—some for years. Eliminating such shortcomings and fully mobilizing the entire human and technical potential at the worksites is a basic task that faces us today. The party leadership demands that those responsible for completing investment objectives work resolutely and with maximum energy to step up the pace of work and thus to ensure that all planned objectives come rapidly on line. This is a particularly critical task now for all investment worksites and it stems from the importance that the new capacities have for increasing industrial production and satisfying certain well-defined economic requirements and for successfully fulfilling the tasks for this year's plan and for the entire 5-year plan.

As practice has taught us, the chief cause of delays in finishing objectives is the tendency to begin too many objectives simultaneously. This stretches too thinly the capacities of construction organizations, designers, and suppliers. Thus the bringing on line of investment objectives within the time stipulated is especially dependent upon concentrating efforts at a reasonable number of worksites to ensure the full use of the economic potential.

Increased investment economic efficiency is also heavily dependent upon modernizing work in the construction-assembly arena. This means equipping this sector with a wide range of installations and equipment and using this equipment to maximum efficiency. The modernization of construction-assembly work represents the primary road to an accelerated pace at the work site—by using new and better materials, prefabricated subassemblies, extending mechanization and, where possible, even automation.

Only by synchronizing the efforts of all participants in the investment process—designers, construction workers, beneficiaries, suppliers, and the financial institutions—can we raise the level of efficiency of all activities in the investment process. This, in turn, will create the necessary conditions for consolidating the technical and material base of all sectors in our national economy and will ensure sustained economic growth and modernization of activities in all areas of economic and social life.

POLAND

Non-Roman Catholic Religious Publications Discussed

26000091 Krakow ZESZYTY PRASOZNAWCZE in Polish No 3, 1988 pp 71-79

[Article by Jacek Dyrłaga: "Non-Roman Catholic Religious Publications in the PRP"; first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] In issue 1, 1980 we carried the article by Kazimierz Urban "Non-Roman Catholic Religious Publications in People's Poland." J. Dyrłaga takes up this topic in an article describing the results of surveys conducted by the OBP [Center for the Study of the Press]. He attempts to answer, hard as it may be, questions on changes in the editorial activities of religious associations, in press runs, and, finally, in the array of religious communities in the country itself.

In 1980, ZESZYTY [PRASOZNAWCZE]¹ published an article discussing in detail the issue of non-Roman Catholic publications in Poland. The data contained in the article referred mainly to the status as of the early and mid-1970's. Due to our interest in this issue, we decided to return to this topic once again. The basic questions we wanted to answer involved, in particular, more significant changes in circulation, number of publications, etc. since 1973. We also wanted to note the

appearance of new churches or religious associations in the capacity of press publishers. Since we had at our disposal materials from editorial offices, we tried to contribute to this issue new elements, not previously described in ZESZYTY [PRASOZNAWCZE]. As a basic source for our analysis, we used responses to the questionnaire sent to religious editorial offices in our country² and, to a lesser degree, single copies of publications³ sent together with the questionnaire. We have consciously decided not to describe individual denominations in our article, concentrating on the press publishing activities. We were particularly interested in relatively new publications, set up after 1973, and, therefore, not yet described in ZESZYTY [PRASOZNAWCZE].

As of June 1987, 38 non-Roman Catholic churches and religious associations were entered in the register of the Office for Religious Denominations (compared to 1976, 10 more denominations were added).⁴ It is estimated that a total of just under 1 million believers belong to them, of which members of the Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church account for 80 percent (see details in table 1). The numbers of followers of other denominations range from several dozen thousand to barely a dozen or so persons. As of mid-1987, 19 of the denominations in question published at least one periodical. Thus, most denominations actually publish no periodicals, but it should be stressed emphatically that their combined membership is low (compare tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. Non-Roman Catholic Religious Communities in Poland as of 31 December 1986

Name of Community	Number of Believers
Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church	850,000
Polish Catholic Church	49,300
Old Catholic Church of Mariavites	24,950
Evangelical-Augsburg Church	97,448
Evangelical Reformed Church	4,500
Methodist Church	4,275
Polish Church of Baptist Christians	6,140
United Evangelical Church	17,972
Church of the Seventh Day Adventists	8,997
Catholic Church of Mariavites in the PRP	3,534
Sabbath Day Church in Poland	490
Association of Free Scholars of the Holy Bible	2,674
Society of Scholars of the Holy Bible in Poland	436
"Epiphany" Lay Missionary Movement	2,018
Church of Christ in the PRP	4,300
Free Christian Church	1,780
Union of Polish Brethren	120
Protestant Community of the Bieszczady Region	455
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Poland (Mormons)	70
Eastern Church of Old Believers in Poland	2,620
New Apostolic Church in Poland	781
Association of Christian Communities in the PRP	210
The Karaites Religious Union in Poland	200
Brahma Kumaris Raja Yoga Association	60

Table 1. Non-Roman Catholic Religious Communities in Poland as of 31 December 1986

Name of Community	Number of Believers
Zen-Sangha Buddhist Union in Poland	180
Karma Kagyu Buddhist Association in Poland	302
Moslem Religious Union in the PRP	2,400
Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith	1,702
Zen-Chogye Buddhist Association in Poland	200
Adzapa Jogi Union	37
"Kandzson" Buddhist Association	98
Union of Bible Scholars	66
Religious Brotherhood Lectorium Rosicrucianum	54
Christian Pentecostal Brotherhood	About 900
Apostolic See in Jesus Christ	80
Christian Science Association	100
God's and Lamb's See of Apostles in Spirit and Truth, Alpha and Omega,	16
Beginning and End	
Panmonistic Community	13

The data are based on: A. Sobocinska, Christian Churches and Religious Unions in Poland, *STUDIA I DOKUMENTY EKUMENICZNE*, 1987, No. 3/19. Numerical data should be treated with a certain amount of caution, because they have come from various sources. Note: We have omitted unions registered without believers.

Analyzing this group of publications, we notice that every journal is published directly by a church or association, and, at the same time, represents its organ. The monthly *TYGODNIK PODLASKI—PRAWOSŁAWIE* (a separate edition of *TYGODNIK POLSKI*), published by the ChSS [Christian Social Association], is an exception.⁹ With some reservations, the Polish Catholic publications may also be considered exceptions. The publications of this denomination are published by the Publishing Institute of the Social Association of Polish Catholics.⁸ The association is not a part of the church,

but is connected with it by personal, financial, etc. ties. Therefore, the linkage is somewhat different in nature than in the case of the ChSS.

Publishing activities of the Christian Academy of Theology and the Polish Ecumenical Council constitute a different issue. These institutions do not strive to represent just one denomination; instead, their goal is to maintain ecumenical dialogue. The largest Christian non-Roman Catholic churches participate in the council and the academy.

The average, one-time press run of non-Roman Catholic publications (except calendars) exceeds 120,000 copies. This amounts to 5.5 percent of the average, one-time press run of all denominational publications, taking into account Roman Catholic titles. Detailed information on individual publications is found in table 2.

Table 2. Non-Catholic Publications in Poland in 1973⁷ and 1987

Publisher	Title	Press Run		Frequency of Publication (1987)
		1973	1987	
Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church	Cerkowny Wiestnik	2,000	2,000	Monthly
	Wiadomosci Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego	2,000	2,000	Quarterly
	Kalendarz Prawosławny	No date	7,500	Annual
	Cerkownij Kalendar'	No date	2,500	Annual
	Głos Nadziei	Not published	300	Quarterly
	Lampada	Not published	3,400	Monthly
	Biuletyn Informacyjny Kola Teologów Prawosławnych	Not published	1,500	Quarterly
Evangelical-Augsburg Church	Zwiastun	9,000	13,500	Biweekly
	Kalendarz Ewangelicki	No date	20,000	Annual

Table 2. Non-Catholic Publications in Poland in 1973^a and 1987

Publisher	Title	Press Run		Frequency of Publication (1987)
		1973	1987	
Evangelical Reformed Church	Jednota	1,800	2,000	Annual
Old Catholic Church of Mariavites	Mariawita	3,500	3,400	Monthly
Methodist Church	Pielgrzym Polski	1,500	2,000	Monthly
Polish Catholic Church	Rodzina	15,000	25,000	Weekly
	Poslannictwo	1,000	1,500	Quarterly
	Kalendarz Katolicki	No date	25,000	Annual
	Slowo Prawdy	3,300	4,000	Monthly
Polish Church of Baptist Christians				
Church of the Seventh Day Adventists	Znaki Czasu	10,000	25,000	Monthly
	Glos Adwentu(formerly Sluga Zboru)	2,000	2,500	Monthly
	Lekcje Biblijne	4,300	5,800	Quarterly
	Wiedomoaci dla Duchownych	650	150	Monthly
United Evangelical Church	Chrzescijanin	5,000	6,500	Monthly
Sabbath Day Christian Church	Duch Czasow	300	10,000	Monthly
	Glos Kaznodziejaki	Not published	300	Quarterly
	Lekcje Biblijne	Not published	Varies	Annual
Association of Free Scholars of the Holy Bible	Na Strazy-Zwiastun obecnoaci Chrystusa	2,500	2,000	Bimonthly
Society of Scholars of the Holy Bible	Swit Krolestwa Bozego i Wtornej Obecnoaci Jezusa Chrystusa	1,300	1,000	Bimonthly
"Epiphany" Lay Missionary Movement	Terazniejaza Prawda i Zwiastun Chrystusowej Epifanii	3,000	3,000	Bimonthly
Christian Academy of Theology	Rocznik Teologiczny	1,000	600	Annual
Polish Ecumenical Council	Informacyjny Biuletyn Polskiej Rady Ekumenicznej	Not published	600	Quarterly
Christian Social Association	Tygodnik Podlaski-Prawoslawie	Not published	5,000	Monthly
Catholic Church of Mariavites	Krolestwo Boze na Ziemi	Not published	1,000	Monthly (combined issues)
Free Christian Church	Laika i Pokoj	Not published	2,500	Bimonthly (combined issues)
	Biuletyn Informacyjny Rady Kosciola Wolnych Chrzescijan	Not published	500	Bimonthly
Zen "Sangha" Buddhist Union	Droga Zen	Not published	600	Bimonthly
Moslem Religious Union	Zycie Muzulmanskie	Not published	500	Quarterly
Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith	Kalendarz Zydowski	Not published	5,000	Annual

^aUkrainian edition of KALENDARZ PRAWOSLAWNY (published in the Polish-Russian version)

Over 14 years, i.e. between 1973 and 1987, the combined, one-time press run of the denominational publications in question almost doubled. New publications also appeared (see table 2). Four (or five, if KALENDARZ ZYDOWSKI is included) more churches or religious associations started their own publications. The breakdown according to changes in the frequency of publications did not undergo major changes. One weekly and one biweekly publications continued to appear, whereas the remainder are published once a month or less frequently.

From among the denominations in question, the Church of Sabbath-Day Christians, with several hundred members, shows the highest growth rate of publications. In 1973, this small denomination had one publication, whereas at present, as many as three, and the average one-time press run of its publications grew more than 34 times in 14 years. The largest publishing houses, in terms of the number of copies printed, are the "Signs of the Time" Publishers of the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Publishing Institute of the

Polish Catholic Church, and the "Harbinger" Publishing House of the Evangelical—Augsburg Church.

Characteristically, the circulation of individual non-Roman Catholic denominational publications often equals or even exceeds the number of believers in the church or religious union they represent. Certainly, we also encounter in the press market a similar situation when various organizations, societies, etc. publish their press in numbers exceeding those of their members. However, the non-Roman Catholic denominational press is seldom suprarreligious in nature, giving attention to broader social, economic or political issues. In this case, the relatively high circulation should be viewed in terms of the desire to win "converts" to a particular faith. The Jehova's Witnesses,⁸ for example, leave their literature with the persons of other religions or non-believers they visit.

The press runs of publications intended for the Orthodox reader are an obvious exception to this rule. Their combined circulation (without the calendar) amounts to about 14,000 copies (9,000 published by the church and 5,000 published by the ChSS—see table), which appears to be a small number compared to more than 800,000 believers, to say nothing of eventually getting through to persons outside the Orthodox community. This, however, calls for more precise verification by in-depth research of readership.

Actually, the year 1985 marked the beginning of setting up the non-Christian religious press in the PRP. Earlier attempts to reactivate some publications, especially right after World War II, did not bring the desired result, primarily due to organizational and financial causes.⁹ DROGA ZEN, the bimonthly of the Zen "Sangha" Buddhist Union, was the first non-Christian publication to appear in January 1985 (permit to circulate since 1986). The union published an irregular bulletin beginning in 1974, and a newsletter in 1984.¹⁰

In November 1986, a second non-Christian denominational publication appeared, i.e. the quarterly of the Moslem Religious Union in Poland ZYCIE MUZULMANSKIE. Thus far, the periodical has not been published regularly, which is due mainly to the lack of material which satisfies the requirements of the editorial office.

The editorial staff of the two non-Christian periodicals consists exclusively of persons working as volunteers, which is the case in a great number of non-Roman Catholic editorial offices. The distribution of these periodicals differs—80 percent of the copies of ZYCIE MUZULMANSKIE are disseminated through the channels of the Moslem Religious Union, 10 percent—by individual subscription; institutional subscriptions outside the association and complimentary copies account for 5 percent each. On the other hand, 50 percent of the copies of DROGA ZEN reach the readers through individual subscriptions, 30 percent—through special retail

outlets; the remaining copies are either complimentary for individuals and institutions, or disseminated by institutional subscriptions (particularly by libraries). Both publications strongly emphasize denominational traditions and pay attention to enhancing religious knowledge. In addition, DROGA ZEN frequently touches on current social issues (seldom political), ecology, art and morality; even the column "Sangha Cuisine" has appeared.

Among new (i.e. started after 1973) Christian periodicals, TYGODNIK PODLASKI—PRAWOSLAWIE has the largest circulation (see table). This periodical, though called a weekly, is actually published once a month and is a separate version of TYGODNIK POLSKI. A part of the editorial staff is located in the building of TYGODNIK POLSKI in Warsaw (among others, the deputy editor in chief of TYGODNIK POLSKI for TYGODNIK PODLASKI), and a part in Bialystok. The periodical was created in April 1985. The most important objectives the editorial staff have set for themselves are "to present the life, as well as the social and ecumenical work of the Orthodox Church—to acquaint society with the culture and history of Orthodoxy, and to rally people of different denominations around the supreme values involving the PRP" (quoted from the questionnaire). In the more religious dimension, the attention is focussed on implementing Christian values and science in life (the ethics of work, aid to one's neighbor, etc.) as well as pointing out the historic sources of tolerance in Poland, and so on. Half the press run is disseminated through church subscriptions, 20 percent through individual subscriptions, and 30 percent may be purchased at the "Ruch" newsstands.

In 1986 and 1987, three more Orthodox periodicals were started: GLOS NADZIEI, published and disseminated by the Bishop's Curia of Wroclaw and Szczecin; BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY KOLA TEOLOGOW PRAWOSLAWNYCH, published by the Metropolitan Curia in Warsaw, and LAMPADA; a journal for children, published by the parish of St. Michael in Bielsk Podlaski.

The press of the Free Christian Church is also among the relatively new publications. To be sure, the monthly of this church, LASKA I POKOJ, dates back to before the war (it was created in 1925); however, it was resumed only in 1982. An overwhelming majority of items in the periodical touch on the Bible and present a sort of a commentary on it. Half the press run is distributed through church subscriptions. Individual subscribers receive one copy in four; readers abroad receive one copy in 10. In addition, the Free Christian Church publishes the bimonthly BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY RADY KOSCIOLU WOLNYCH CHRZESCIAN, which is addressed in its entirety to fellow coreligionists and contains information on the life of individual congregations and the church as a whole.

KROLESTWO BOZE NA ZIEMI is also a relatively new periodical in the Polish press market (started in 1981). Propagating the Mariavite doctrine and reporting on the history and contemporary life of the church are the main goals the editorial office sets for itself. We note a good number of statements critical of the Roman Catholic Church in the pages of the periodical. This, however, is not a peculiarity of this periodical. A majority of non-Roman Catholic periodicals emphasize differences from the Roman Catholic approach while referring to their own doctrine.

Two more periodicals of the Sabbath-Day Christian Church, the quarterly GLOS KAZNODZIEJSKI and the annual LEKCJE BIBLIJNE, appear on the list of periodicals set up after 1973. The latter periodical is meant exclusively for persons ministering services. On the other hand, GLOS KAZNODZIEJSKI provides an organizational link among believers. It presents "difficult topics" from the Bible, touches on the life of the church and publishes reports. The press runs and contents indicate that the monthly DUCH CZASOW, founded as far back as 1967, continues to be the basic periodical of this church, and due to the propagation of religious values, also for people outside the church (60 percent of the copies are available at the "Ruch" newsstands).

Since a description of the editorial format of periodicals published prior to 1973 has already been presented in ZESZYTY [PRASOZNAWCZE], we will not return to this issue in more detail. This is justified by the permanence of the overall editorial format of these publications. Certain differences are rather due to specific problems which are reflected in the periodicals in question. However, the latter issue would call for research using the analysis of contents, and could become the subject of a separate article.

Even persons paying little attention to the supply of newspapers and magazines in "Ruch" newsstands must admit that the non-Catholic press does not exactly leap at you, not only because of the number of copies, but also the variety of titles. Therefore, the question arises about the ways in which the periodical in question reaches the reader. It turns out that distribution on commission indeed plays a small role in this. Only RODZINA (92 percent of all circulation), DUCH CZASOW (60 percent) and ZNAKI CZASU (50 percent) are distributed through the "Ruch" on a greater scale. Most of the publications are distributed mainly (in several cases, exclusively) through church channels, i.e. through parishes, congregations, church sales outlets, etc. The entire press runs of CHRZESCIANIN, BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY KOSCIOLU WOLNYCH CHRZESCIAN, the Adventist LEKCJE BIBLIJNE and GLOS ADWENTU, 90 percent of the copies of NA STRAZY, and about 80 percent of ZYCIE MUZULMANSKIE, ZWIASTUN and WIADOMOSCI PAKP are distributed in this manner. Over 50 percent of the copies of 8 more publications are still distributed through church channels.

Also, there is a small group of publications which reaches the reader primarily through individual subscriptions. Thus, 98 percent of the circulation of SWIT KROLESTWA BOZEGO, 85 percent of ROCZNIK TEOLOGICZNY, 50 percent of DROGA ZEN and 41 percent of JEDNOTA is received by subscribers.

Complimentary copies play a significant role in spreading the doctrines of individual denominations. With several exceptions, most editorial offices of non-Roman Catholic publications have a certain number of complimentary copies. The leaders in this field are undoubtedly periodicals such as GLOS KAZNODZIEJSKI—more than one copy in three is complimentary, KROLESTWO BOZE NA ZIEMI—exactly one copy in three is complimentary, SLOWO PRAWDY—respectively, one in 7 or 8 copies, DROGA ZEN—one in 10.

At present, there is little that we can say about the readership of the periodicals in question. Somewhat over 1.7 million adults (older than 14 years) are the permanent or occasional recipients of the entire religious press in Poland, i.e. including Roman Catholic publications.¹¹ Of these, readers of the denominational, non-Roman Catholic press account for 2.5 percent. This is a low number, if we compare the circulation of the periodicals studied to the circulation of the Roman Catholic press (see above). However, if we take this number in proportion to the estimated number of believers, we could state the exact opposite. At this point, we should mention expressly that non-Roman Catholic periodicals, with minor exceptions, judging from their covers, look like brochures or even leaflets, and may be regarded as such by common opinion. Therefore, the numbers obtained through the research of readership may be too low to some degree.

The most significant barriers hampering the growth of readership of the non-Roman Catholic periodicals are:

- a) circulation—though high in relation to the number of believers, is still too small to play a significant role in the press market,
- b) distribution—the lack of an overwhelming majority of publications at "Ruch" newsstands causes closed, community-specific circulation of periodicals, which is not compensated for by numerous complimentary copies (frequently sent to random persons or institutions),
- c) psychosocial factors—the overwhelming preponderance of the Roman Catholic populace in the PRP causes the immediate readership base to be limited, whereas the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church may exhibit psychological resistance towards the press of "other denominations."

The data on the non-Roman Catholic denominational press presented in this article contains basic information on this type of periodical. Due to the lack of a broader interest in these issues on the part of researchers,

attempts to take them up must somehow start at the beginning every time. A diachronic approach to the issues discussed may be used within a very limited framework.

Footnotes

1. See K. Urban, Denominational Non-Roman Catholic Press in People's Poland, ZESZYTY PRASOZNAWCZE, 1980, No 1.

2. From among non-Roman Catholic periodicals, only two editorial offices failed to respond to the survey. Information about these periodicals was found in the data of the Office for Religious Denominations.

3. At present, in the author's collection and at the OBP Team for Research into Press Readership.

4. Compared to the 1976 data by K. Urban, Denominational Non-Roman Catholic... op. cit. Note: several local unions operate as regular associations; however, we included them as religious associations due to their nature. We omitted unions registered without believers (a total of two).

5. In this work, we deliberately left out other publications by the ChSS (e.g. CHRZESCIANIN A WSPOLCZESNOSC, TYGODNIK POLSKI, STUDIA I DOKUMENTY EKUMENICZNE), because they present Roman Catholic issues to a great degree, despite being ecumenical in nature.

6. In the 1970s and 1985-86, the periodical MIESIECZNIK KOSCIELNY was published directly by the church. Beginning in 1987, it has no longer been published, due to difficulties with printing.

7. The 1973 data are from the article by K. Urban mentioned above. The 1987 data are as of 30 June.

8. Jehova's Witnesses publish two periodicals: STRAZNICA [Watchtower]—for coreligionists, and PRZEBUDZCIE SIE! [Awake!] (in the author's collection)—for persons of other religions and nonbelievers. We did not take these periodicals into account in the table, because they did not have permits to circulate until June 1987, though they were tolerated by the authorities.

9. To be sure, the first issue of the yearbook KALENDARZ ZYDOWSKI was published as early as 1981. However, it is questionable whether it can be considered a periodical. The content of the calendar was discussed by, among others, K. Urban in The Jewish Calendar on the Religious and Sociocultural Life of the Followers of Mosaism, PROBLEMY WYZNAN I LAICYZACJI, 2 November 1987, No 44/1421.

10. Note: these and subsequent detailed data on individual periodicals are taken from the responses of these editorial offices to the survey.

11. See J. Dyrłaga, The Denominational Press in the PRP and Its Readers, RAPORTY OBP, 1987.

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